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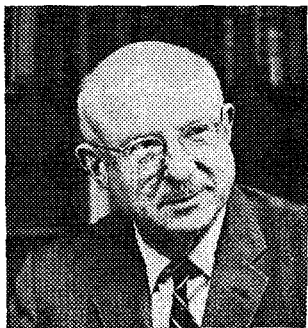
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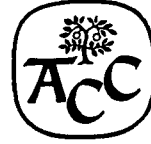
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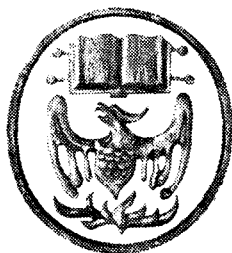
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A Modest Proposal to Meet an Urgent Need

JULIAN P. BOYD*

EIGHTY years ago this society of scholars, now numbering more than twelve thousand teachers, writers, and friends of history and steadily growing, was brought into being by a handful of imaginative and creative teachers. They were conscious of the gathering momentum of the revolution in science. They would be the vanguard of a new and similar thrust under the banners of reason. They would seek truth by a disciplined study of men and institutions in their passage through time, as Darwin studied coral reefs. The standards they raised and to which they swore allegiance were, of course, as old as Herodotus and as explicit as Lucian of Samosata, who said long ago:

The historian's one task is to tell the thing as it happened. . . . He may nurse some private dislikes, but he will attach far more importance to the public good, and set the truth high above his hate; he may have his favourites, but he will not spare

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their errors. For history, I say again, has this and this only for its own: if a man will start upon it, he must sacrifice to no God but Truth.¹

The oath of impartiality was as exacting as that of Sisamnes, and no doubt violated as often. But until three generations ago its enforcement among historians depended upon the individual conscience, a reliance most potent but both fortuitous and precarious. If a Goliath appeared in the form of an unassailable Macaulay, brooking no argument and thundering his Victorian imprecations against a Francis Bacon, prudent and practical men were apt either to keep silent or, worse, to echo the tirade. Only through chance could a David be expected to take the field. In this case a wise, gentle, and heroic David did come forth from almost the last place one would expect to find him—a government bureau—and did spend more than thirty years gathering and publishing all that was known of the writings and letters of the first statesman of modern science. The fact of least importance is that Goliath was demolished. All who value science and learning might indeed yield Macaulay a grudging expression of gratitude for his inadvertent spur to the advancement of knowledge. For surely no historical criticism, especially if intellectually ill-mannered, can ever have inspired a more fruitful harvest than that which aroused James Spedding to his selfless labors.² I cannot avoid here a parenthetical comment that is prompted by the misconception of many and by the particular expression of a distinguished predecessor on this platform.³ Great editing, as well as great history, must pass through one man's mind.

But the task of the historian, as the founders of our community of scholars well understood, was too important to society to be left to fortune. The occasional Davids were valiant and inspired, but accidental and alone. The advancement of knowledge about men and institutions required sodality as well as solitude. Only thus could scholars bound by the same oath of alle-

¹ *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, tr. H. W. and F. G. Fowler (4 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1905), II, 128–29.

² Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Francis Bacon: The Temper of a Man* (Boston, 1963), 16–17; *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding (7 vols., London, 1861–74); *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. *id. et al.* (7 vols., London, 1857–59). Sir Leslie Stephen called the achievement of Spedding (1808–1881) “an unsurpassable model of thorough and scholar-like editing,” a tribute that gains luster from its source, the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

³ Carl Bridenbaugh, “The Great Mutation,” *American Historical Review*, LXVIII (Jan. 1963), 331. The misconception is natural, but, in view of what is taking place at present in the United States, its power to mislead should be noted. The training for scholarly editing stands today about where training for history stood at the time the profession was founded. Its highest achievements will very likely continue to be those of gifted and creative amateurs, such as Spedding, Wilmarth Lewis, Edmond Samuel de Beer, and others, until misconceptions about it are removed and especially until its accidental and newly established position in the academic world creates less unease and attracts more professional rewards and incentives. But this will depend upon an understanding of its nature and its requirements.

giance to truth and impartiality achieve the power, the discipline, and the humility essential to the realization of the great object. The noble dedication by William Harvey of his *An Anatomical Disquisition on the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals* had made the point two and a half centuries earlier. True philosophers, Harvey said to his colleagues of the Royal College of Physicians,

never suffer their minds to be warped by the passions of hatred and envy, which unfit men duly to weigh the arguments that are advanced in behalf of truth, or to appreciate the proposition that is fairly demonstrated; neither do they think it unworthy of them to change their opinion if truth and undoubted demonstrations require them to do so; nor do they esteem it discreditable to desert error, though sanctioned by the highest antiquity; for they know full well . . . that many things are discovered by accident, and that many may be learned indifferently from any quarter, by an old man from a youth, by a person of understanding from one of inferior capacity.⁴

The trace of austerity in Lucian, urging the historian to stand independent and aloof, detached from all bonds to persons and states and indeed to life, finds no echo in the words of Harvey. A chastening glimpse of the subjective barriers had brought humility but no lessening of the love of truth. Association and communication among men of learning were as essential to discovery, whether disciplined or accidental, as systematic investigation. In 1803 a young American, Samuel Miller, put a discerning finger on the now obvious fact that the remarkable multiplication of academies and learned associations in the preceding century "ought to be considered as holding a place among the most important sources of modern improvements in science."⁵

The revolution in science could never be reversed. It helped to create and in turn was given a new thrust by another sort of revolution that occurred in 1776. The most ardent and consistent exemplar of that revolution saw the integral nature of science, history, and liberty more clearly than any of the other heirs of Bacon, Newton, and Locke: "while the art of printing is left to us," Thomas Jefferson declared in that doubtful decade when the right to oppose was being challenged, "science can never be retrograde; what is once acquired of real knowledge can never be lost. To preserve the freedom of the human mind then and freedom of the press, every spirit should be ready to devote itself to martyrdom; for as long as we may think as we will, and speak as we think, the condition of man will proceed in improvement."⁶ The

⁴ William Harvey, *Works*, ed. Robert Willis (London, 1847), 6.

⁵ Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols., New York, 1803), II, 257-59.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson to William Green Munford, June 18, 1799, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Columbia University, Teachers College Library.

author of the Declaration of Independence conceived the task of the historian much as William Jovanovich has defined the task of his indispensable ally, the publisher—as “a primarily civilizing enterprise and like orderly government . . . central to a humanistic society. Its great import lies in the maintenance of freedom.”⁷ A nation that claims to be in earnest about defending its liberty is bound thereby to be serious about its history. A solemn duty rests upon it to provide the best possible climate in which the truth in history, as in science, can be sought and cherished, a duty demanding all the resources that an enlightened and powerful people can summon. It is one that ought to be faced in the spirit of generosity and magnanimity out of which the concept of liberty itself originates, but at all events the simple requirements of self-government demand that it be met.

If anyone engaged in this revolution in history was innocent enough to believe that the revelation of truth about a people's past would be accepted as calmly as Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood, the thunder and lightning aroused by Darwin should have opened his eyes. This, however, was a gentle admonition. Science had faced many formidable battles over the centuries before attaining its unchallenged position of power and opulence. But these were as nothing compared with those against which the vanguard of a revolution in history and their followers would have to contend. Old myths, ancient hatreds, and all the inherited fears and frustrations that put nation against nation were not only mounting in intensity but now had the results of the progress of science to multiply their menacing aspects. For after the transforming event of 1776, Everyman indeed felt competent to be his own historian in all that mattered in politics and society. Thus what mattered most in the past was bound to enter the present as controversy. Not even biology could encounter or continue to encounter the barriers that history would always be obliged to face. Facing these was in fact its primary function. Its duty was to confront, not to reinforce, a misleading mythology based on sentimentality or shallow patriotism.

At the beginning of the third quarter of the nineteenth century it was quite clear to thoughtful American scholars that on the frontiers of history there were forests to be cleared, trees to be girdled, and boulders to be removed. Textbooks by which youth were to be prepared for the great responsibility of citizenship in a democracy were wretched amalgams of piety, parochialism, and misinformation. Their horizons ended too often at state or sectional boundaries. If they ever spanned the Atlantic at all, it was to indulge in attitudes of self-righteousness or in the cruder displays of manifest destiny,

⁷ William Jovanovich, *Now, Barabbas* (1st ed., New York, 1960), 16.

never to link American institutions and ideals to the great tradition of civility stretching back through many ages to many lands whence both our people and our fundamental precepts of law, justice, and administration were all derived. From these handbooks of chauvinism, students recited to teachers almost as unqualified as themselves. For even in the universities, so one of the founders of the American Historical Association declared, history received "only such charitable attention as could be given it by some benevolent professor after his energies had already been too much exhausted by the absolute necessities of what was thought to be more important instruction."⁸ Less than a score of American colleges had teachers of history, and these were rarely productive scholars. Of five eastern universities in 1882, so J. Franklin Jameson stated thirty years ago, only one had a professor of history, "three were thinking of acquiring one, and the fifth was, to all appearance, not even thinking of it."⁹

The indispensable task of preserving and publishing the documentary sources had been borne altogether by zealous amateurs, singly or in the meagerly supported institutions that they founded for the purpose. Historical societies in less than a century had accomplished much, but the few that existed tended more and more to become social organizations, havens of genealogists, or sanctuaries for superannuated clergymen. National and state archives had also been preserved in surprising quantity, despite some irreparable and shameful losses, but the professional archivist was even more distant on the horizon than the professional historian. No historical journals save those of a local, genealogical, or antiquarian nature existed. Criticism was left chiefly to *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The North American Review*, and *The Nation*. President Eliot of Harvard summed up the matter in an address at Johns Hopkins University in 1882 describing the relative attention given to various subjects in American colleges and universities. He illustrated his point with the story of two young scholars of promise who had asked his advice about preparing themselves to become professors of history. "I was obliged to tell them," said he, "that under existing circumstances it would be the height of imprudence."¹⁰ But the revolution was already under

⁸ J. Franklin Jameson, "Early Days of the American Historical Association, 1884-1895," *American Historical Review*, XL (Oct. 1934), 1-2.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. Charles Eliot's address may well have inspired Daniel Coit Gilman to suggest the formation of the American Historical Association, a suggestion with which Jameson credits him and one confirmed in a letter from Clarence W. Bowen to Herbert B. Adams, Nov. 24, 1900. ("Historical Scholarship in the United States, 1876-1901: As Revealed in the Correspondence of Herbert B. Adams," ed. W. Stull Holt, *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. LVI, No. 4 [Baltimore, 1938], 288.) But it was Adams who created the Association and made it possible.

way, and its undoubted leader was Herbert Baxter Adams of the university where Eliot spoke.

For half a century after 1876 two towering figures were at the center of that revolution, planning its strategy, training its battalions, calling attention to weaknesses here and bolstering defenses there, exhorting, inspiring, executing, and leading. Adams more than any other person was responsible for transferring the custody of historical scholarship in the last quarter of the nineteenth century from the hands of the amateurs and the antiquarians to those of the academicians. In that brief span of years he sent forth from his seminar to all parts of the nation a succession of graduate students disciplined in the use of the sources, ready to meet on the ground of reason and truth the shallow, pietistic, and provincial forces that had so long misused the banners of history. Adams himself looked upon each student placed on the faculty of a college in the West or the South as a new colony planted, and, in language appropriate to an age of imperialism, took just pride in the remarkable expansion of his own colonial system of the intellect. The simile was less apt than that of a band of missionaries. For it is impossible to read the letters of teacher and students without sensing that aspect of mission in our national character which Frederick Merk has described with such candor and quiet eloquence in his *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History*.¹¹ One teacher trained by Adams founded an academic historical society in a small sectarian college in North Carolina, began a scholarly historical publication, and at the close of the century reported to his old preceptor much as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts might have done in the colonial period. "Last night," he said, "I made [a] talk on our historical ideal. I spoke of the freedom of thought in the history department of this college and of the obligation laid on us for a revival of ideas. I appealed to the boys to let it be so that our society would be at least one place in all the South in which a man could present his opinions of our history and get a respectful hearing. At this point they cheered. I think we are making progress."¹²

But the revolutionary crusade was bound for trouble because it aimed at the center of the target: the history of political and social institutions. When another teacher in the South used a text on constitutional history so bland that it had first appeared in an encyclopedia, the local newspaper, appropriately named *The Banner*, waved the Confederate flag for two columns and

¹¹ Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation* (New York, 1963).

¹² John Spencer Bassett, Trinity College, Durham, N. C., to Adams, Sept. 26, 1897, "Historical Scholarship in the United States," ed. Holt, 246.

asked at the top of its voice why Alexander Stephens' *Constitutional View of the War between the States* was not good enough. Those on the perimeter in these opening skirmishes of the revolution wrote anxious letters to Adams appealing for the aid and counsel that seemed inexhaustible. But there at the center, too, the distant rumble of thunder was heard. Adams' own university formally declared that "the discussion of current political, economic, financial and social questions . . . is of such importance that the lessons should be given only by the ablest and wisest persons" and recommended great caution in the selection and engagement of the faculty.¹³

These were the natural consequences of revolution. Considering that in reality its aim was central to the defense of liberty, that it sought an understanding of the past in order to fit men for a better understanding of themselves and their institutions, the surprising fact is that the casualties and the lost battles were so few. One casualty declared before the century closed that "*the way to help the Negro in the South is to educate the White Man*,"¹⁴ and it would be easy to conclude in the light of tragic events that the war had been lost, that Professor James Silver's address before the Southern Historical Association and his *Mississippi: The Closed Society* are measures of the defeat.¹⁵ No discerning student of history is likely to make such an error. The fact that the address was given before a learned body founded in consequence of the revolution originating in a quiet seminar room in Baltimore is eloquent testimony to its progress, not to its failure. It is indeed a measure of the importance of history to society. However much the historian might deplore the tragic wastes and cruelties, the affronts to national character, the endless failures to heed warnings from the past, or the limited range of his own voice in a strident world, he is bound to be the last to lose hope in the ultimate value of the revolution of which he is a continuing representative.

For what Adams, his students, and others had accomplished in this brief quarter of a century was much more than the establishment of a profession. What they had really done was to challenge a way of looking at the past that was unworthy of a free society. Thenceforth, though historians themselves might at times be so blinded by human frailty as, in Harvey's words, "to deny the light of the noonday sun," the past would be looked at with candor, with reason, with dignity, and with respect for truth. Those elements of national character that evoked just pride or elevated feelings or moral judgments

¹³ Minute of June 4, 1894, adopted by the trustees of Johns Hopkins University, *ibid.*, 227. The date is suggestive.

¹⁴ Bassett to Adams, Dec. 16, 1898, *ibid.*, 261 (italics in original).

¹⁵ James W. Silver, "Mississippi: The Closed Society," *Journal of Southern History*, XXX (Feb. 1964), 3-34; *Mississippi: The Closed Society* (New York, 1964).

were by no means to be excluded, but neither were the faults to be obscured or covered with gloss. Since defense of liberty is the central function of a free society, the public good required that those in office be held accountable. So, too, the historian himself was to be subjected to the most rigid rules of accountability. A profession now existed to insist that the records used by one should be open and accessible to all, that the historian should be held accountable by those most competent to do it—his own peers. This was a way of looking at history that comported with the dignity of free men, a way of strengthening democracy as only the truth could strengthen it.

If the period when the revolution began was the Age of Adams, the next quarter of a century was indisputably the Age of Jameson. What is impressive about both periods is the vitality, the drive, and the range of leaders who encompassed responsibility on every level, both to the public at large and to the world of learning. As Adams and his growing empire engaged in the Chautauqua movement and extension courses, so Jameson and his associates endeavored to breathe new life into the historical societies. This was so successfully done through annual conferences and more informal means that the foundation of a national association for the purpose was a natural consequence. The sense of mission led Jameson to carry the banner even to the hereditary and patriotic societies, the heart of what many regarded with some reason as enemy territory. The nearest outpost was overcome so successfully that one national patriotic society to its lasting credit was induced to sponsor a series of documentary publications of high scholarly merit. The *American Historical Review*—still the only journal of history in the world devoted to a comprehensive coverage of all phases of history—was launched. *Writings on American History* was begun as a means of keeping the profession abreast of its steadily increasing productivity, and the extensive publications of American historical societies in the preceding century were similarly brought into focus. Archives on the national, state, and local levels were examined and described, and a movement was begun for the establishment of a national archives system. This, an enduring monument to Jameson's unflagging zeal, was realized half a century after the first advocacy of the idea. Within another quarter of a century there came into being an archival profession having its own body of doctrine, its own journal, and its own national association. To this movement Jameson linked the idea of a national historical publications commission such as Great Britain had established in 1800, France and Belgium in 1834, and Austria, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Japan, and other nations at later dates. "All governments that care for public enlightenment and seek to promote intelligent patriotism,"

he declared, "do this. The Government of the United States . . . has never had a general, broadly conceived, systematic plan, and it has never had any regular, organized means of bringing expert historical opinion to bear on the question what enterprises ought to be undertaken and how each should be accomplished."¹⁶ In the present year, three-quarters of a century after the first call for such a measure of enlightened economy, there was passed by the Congress of the United States and signed by the President the first act to provide the National Historical Publications Commission with resources moderately adequate to its great responsibilities. But the failure to accomplish this in his own lifetime did not daunt Jameson. If one set of coals refused to burst into flame, he blew on another, or on several, and from these he lit many torches. By his insistent endeavors with government, universities, publishers, patriotic societies, and private philanthropy, he, more than any other individual, was responsible for providing the solid foundation of guides, calendars, bibliographies, and scholarly editions of historical documents that enabled the new profession to face its duty of promoting the public enlightenment.

Adams and Jameson were quite aware, as every historian is, that the labors of many devoted men and women within the profession and the generosity of many others beyond its boundaries made it possible for them to lead this remarkable revolution at the end of the last century and the beginning of ours. The success they achieved is witnessed on every hand—in our multiplying libraries, in the quality of our historical literature, in the standards of criticism applied to it, in the several national, regional, and specialized associations of scholars deriving from what they founded, in the vast complex of the national and state archival systems, and, most important of all, in the information available to youth in schools, colleges, and universities throughout the land. In many other tangible and intangible ways, not least of which is the growing number of men in public office who have studied or taught history, this revolution has, for all of its failures and frustrations, contributed mightily to the public good.

The leaders of this revolution saw one thing very clearly. The historical profession needed to be centered in the capital of the nation. It belonged there even more imperatively than the chronicler in other centuries needed to be next to the monarch, not merely because the archives and libraries drew it there by their magnetic power, not merely because government and

¹⁶ Report of the House Committee on the Library, Apr. 13, 1910, recommending passage of H.R. 15428 to establish a permanent commission on national historical publications, *House Reports (Public)*, 61 Cong., 2 sess., II, Report No. 1000 (Washington, D. C., 1910). The bill was never acted upon.

history dealt with common concerns arising from the past, but also because, embracing every other area of knowledge about the past, the profession could not avoid its obligation to look first at government. This stemmed directly from the American Revolution and the Enlightenment with their proposition that the organization, the procedures, and the policies of government should be open to rational inquiry and independent criticism—a process that has had deep effect on our whole constitutional system.¹⁷ Nothing could have been more symbolically appropriate, therefore, than that the American Historical Association should have become the only learned society to hold its charter from the Congress of the United States.

It was in 1887 that Herbert Baxter Adams urged Frederick Bancroft, then in Paris, to return, settle down, and contribute to *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, that series whose title tells so much and whose volumes inspired so many. "I have a great scheme afoot," Adams concluded, "for fostering historical and political studies in America and I think you will find Baltimore and Washington the best vantage-ground for public and private good."¹⁸ This may well have been the first hint of a solution to one growing problem of which the founders of the profession were quite cognizant, but which they failed to solve. When they achieved so much, we cannot reproach them for this one conspicuous failure. It required half a century to establish a national archives system, three-quarters of a century to make a national historical publications program viable, and we are now approaching the end of a century with this problem still unsolved. It is a reproach to us as a profession and to our society as a whole that this long-neglected task has not been pursued with vigor and determination. For this is a problem whose adverse effects are mounting daily, both for the profession and for the national interest. It is to this problem and its solution that I wish to draw your attention—the task of providing at the capital of the nation a center for historians and for historical study in all of its vast ramifications that will be worthy of the dignity of the discipline and of its fundamental importance to the culture of a free society.

Proposals to meet this need go back to the beginning of the century and arose out of the growing number of graduate students being sent to Washington from the various colonies that Adams had planted. The first actual proposal seems to have been made one spring evening in 1901 by Frederick Jackson Turner to J. Franklin Jameson and Charles H. Haskins as the mem-

¹⁷ See Don K. Price, "The Scientific Establishment," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CVI (June 29, 1962), 235-45.

¹⁸ Adams to Bancroft, Apr. 6, 1887, "Historical Scholarship in the United States," ed. Holt, 100.

bers of that potent triumvirate of the historical world sat on Turner's veranda. As Jameson later recalled, the proposal was primarily to create "an abiding place in Washington for graduate students in American history, temporarily released from universities for a period of research in Washington archives."¹⁹ A Committee to Consider a School of American Historical Studies—"a sort of American School in Washington, like the American School in Rome," Andrew C. McLaughlin called it—was forthwith appointed by the Council of the Association. The concept was soon expanded to include the whole problem of promoting historical research in general. But the creation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington the next year deflected the idea. An appeal was made to that foundation without success; the undertaking lay beyond its boundaries. So, too, did its historical enterprises, but this was only discovered a quarter of a century after Jameson had used that aegis to lay a solid foundation for American historical scholarship. The proposition to create a center for historical studies was, as Jameson said to Turner at the time, "reinvented" by a professor at Princeton. This resulted in a meeting in New York attended by a dozen or more of the outstanding leaders of the profession at which, as one can detect without penetrating very far between the lines, there was some apprehension that the proposed center might become a Gothic establishment with students wearing academic gowns and listening to Latin grace at dinner. A special committee was appointed, and on its recommendation the Council of the Association approved a plan "for establishing in Washington a residential center for higher studies in history, economics, and political science to be under the control of those departments of the various universities contributing to the support of the Center."²⁰ This seemed a distinct advance, for here was frank recognition that every university providing for advanced instruction in these important areas had a vital stake in facilitating the research carried on by its students at the national capital and would be invited to join in a condominium for that purpose. But even before the war suspended the plan, Jameson spoke somewhat wistfully of it as a "movement for a Christian Home for Historical Orphans in Washington."²¹ The waste, the handicaps, the ineffi-

¹⁹ Jameson to Turner, May 10, 1916, J. Franklin Jameson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Walter Rundell, Jr., for his kindness in searching the Jameson Papers and the files of the Association for the development of the idea of such a center. I am also indebted to members of the staff of the Massachusetts Historical Society for examining the papers of Senator George F. Hoar, who steered the charter of the Association through Congress, and of Justin Winsor, whose papers are rich in information about the state of historical scholarship in the late nineteenth century.

²⁰ Jameson to Andrew C. McLaughlin, May 22, 1916, *ibid.*

²¹ Jameson to McLaughlin, Nov. 20, 1916, *ibid.*

ciencies continued for scholars young and old as they faced the formidable archives and libraries of Washington.

After the war there was a brief revival of the plan. A misconceived University Center was produced on paper, depending for its operation on a group of experts who agreed to volunteer their services when required by scholars carrying on research in Washington. The director of the American Council on Education pledged the good offices of that organization for transacting what he called "the very simple business of the Center."²² The business turned out to be even more simple than he had imagined. Early in 1922 a young lady from the University of Iowa duly registered at the office of the so-called center. Quite predictably, she was referred to Jameson as chairman of its voluntary historical division. "No earnest student of history has ever turned up," Jameson ruefully admitted the next year, "except . . . our one ewe lamb, for whom we were able to do so little."²³ The fact is that the plan was unworkable. It was a center only in name, indeed worse than none, for it added to the difficulties it sought to solve. Graduate students quickly saw that it was easier to write or go directly to Jameson, who in his own person was a center for all phases of historical research in the United States. Yet even in its short life and happy dissolution this variation of the concept offers an instructive lesson that cannot be disregarded. This is that the problem cannot even be touched, much less solved, unless there is first of all brought into existence a three-dimensional embodiment of the idea, together with almost all facilities required for promoting historical research save the original sources themselves. A building adequate in size, suitable in accommodations, designed in all of its functions to meet the necessities of a growing problem is the absolute precondition to its success. The mistake that was made a generation ago, however generous and well-meant, stands as a solemn warning. Neither the dignity of the profession and of the institutions of higher learning that it represents nor the importance of its endeavors to society should again be compromised by an ill-advised and misdirected sense of economy. The historical profession should not again seek the establishment of a home for historical orphans, but rather declare the urgent

²² This plan was approved by the Council at its meeting of December 28, 1920. (Files of the American Historical Association, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Samuel P. Capen, director, American Council on Education, to Gilbert Grosvenor, May 11, 1922, Jameson Papers.) The plan as developed by William F. Willoughby is set forth in Willoughby's letter to L. S. Rowe, president of the American Political Science Association, undated but alluded to in a covering letter from Rowe to Jameson, September 23, 1921. (*Ibid.*)

²³ Jameson to Waldo G. Leland, May 29, 1922, in *An Historian's World; Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson*, ed. Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock (Philadelphia, 1956), 273. Jameson's report, "The University Center for Research in Washington," is printed in the *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (Jan. 1923), 259-62.

need of creating here a seat worthy alike of the muse of history and of the nation.

World-wide depression and war again suspended all efforts to meet the need, and all the while its dimensions vastly increased. About a decade ago Professor Boyd C. Shafer brought the matter forward once more. Few if any were in a better position than the Executive Secretary of the Association to see the growing magnitude of the long-standing problem. Various other scholars called for a solution, and this time the seed began to germinate. In 1963 proposals on this and related matters were referred by the Council to a special committee of which Professor W. Stull Holt was chairman. Last May the report of this committee stating the need and outlining the functions of a national center for historical study in Washington was laid before the Executive Committee of the Council. No one was left with any illusions as to the magnitude of the undertaking. "This proposal," Professor Holt declared, "calls for a major effort, for imagination, for careful planning, for much study, and for continuous and united work."²⁴ The Executive Committee gave its unanimous approval, and within two weeks a special committee it had authorized, representing various parts of the country and different areas of history, met in Washington to develop plans and to chart the campaign for their realization. The work of this committee continues, and its results will in due time be brought before the profession and the public. I, for one, believe that the call made by Professor Holt for a continuous, imaginative, and united effort may well turn out to be the most important purpose to be defined for the profession since the days of Adams and Jameson.

Even now, in the light of events of the past half century, it seems fortunate that the plans of 1901 and 1916 proved abortive. For the profession today stands at a time and place of which the leaders of that day, wise and concerned as they were, cannot have dreamed. Their plans were conceived in another world, before the transforming era of the great wars, before the breakdown of colonialism and the multiplication of new nations, before the revolutionary advance of the machine lifted old burdens from the backs of men and placed new ones on their consciences and on their capacity to refashion obsolescent institutions, before the United States was required to protect its own and others' security while defending all that was vital in the tradition to which it belongs. To some these cataclysmic changes seem to have set so wide a gulf between our world and that of half a century ago as to make the discipline of history irrelevant and meaningless because the past

²⁴ "The Proposal for a Center for Historical Study," unsigned mimeographed statement, as laid before the Executive Committee of the Council, May 30, 1964, 2-3.

seems to have no lessons, no laws, no structure. This, in my opinion, is a profoundly mistaken view. It flies in the face of one of the most obvious facts about history—its almost unbroken continuity. The race of man is still the race of man, inheritor of primordial propensities for good and evil. The myths, the prejudices, the hatreds, the ignorance, the provincialism, and the unenlightened patriotism against which Adams, Jameson, and other founders of the profession struggled in that other world are still with us, their power to obstruct and to mislead multiplied to an incalculable degree by the very factors that separate us from that seemingly distant age. But other and countervailing inheritances from the past are still with us also: the humanistic tradition to which history alone, in its broadest sense, provides a means of access and upon which we must ultimately rely if life in this new world is to be worth living. When we were a pioneering nation on the outer fringes of Western civilization, we remembered far more of our deep past, sought its elevated vantage point more assiduously, and better understood its relevance to the concept of self-government than we do now. This should warn us. A nation that has taken the place of Rome cannot afford this dangerous detachment from the roots that go well beyond Rome.

History is now, because of this very fact, a more urgently needed discipline than ever before, not to provide men with dogmas and laws, but to give them the best available perspective for the appalling responsibilities of citizenship in this new and uncharted world. This is the great challenge to the profession, and to meet it there is need for a rebirth of the zeal, of the feeling of unity, and of the sense of mission such as characterized its early days. In meeting this challenge the first requirement is a capitol for history in which the youngest graduate student can begin to find his way in association with the seasoned veteran and in which the ideals of the historian can be made manifest and transmitted from one generation to another in countless ways, formal and informal, accidental and purposeful. We cannot in this new world revive Jameson's *historicum convivium* or Putnam's Round Table, but what these informal centers of Attic discourse did in setting standards, in strengthening bonds of unity, and in creating a sense of continuity and of purpose is more urgently needed by the profession now than ever before.

Washington is now the political capital of the world to which all roads lead. The explosive growth of historical scholarship in more than a hundred institutions of higher learning throughout the nation, the sudden penetration of fields of knowledge and areas hitherto neglected, the remarkable growth of interest shown by other countries in American history, the reali-

zation on the part of government, philanthropy, and the business community that disciplined study of the roots of problems is necessary both to their solution and to the avoidance of costly mistakes, the enormous expansion in archival and library collections, the availability of many tools of scholarship hitherto unavailable—these and many other factors have multiplied the number of scholars drawn to Washington from all parts of the world to a degree that few fully realize. This expansion of historical scholarship is accelerating. A generation ago when scholars flocked to London from all parts of the British Empire, the responsibility for providing a center for the promotion of historical scholarship was met by the establishment of the Institute of Historical Research in London. All who have enjoyed its facilities, used its library, or received counsel from its able staff can testify to the economies of time and energy that it has effected in its increasingly useful life. Different but comparable institutions have long existed in Paris, Berlin, Athens, Rome, and elsewhere, making smooth the path of the young student who is often insufficiently trained, sometimes unfamiliar with the most obvious resources of scholarship, and frequently handicapped by language and other barriers. They have also provided a useful and indeed essential base of operations for the mature scholar. A comparable service to scholarship is rendered by International House in Tokyo, created by American philanthropy. But in Washington, capital of the most affluent nation in history, no such intellectual crossroads exists to meet the needs of wayfaring scholars. Graduate students and seasoned veterans alike who come here from this and many other countries have no place to live and associate with others of like purpose, no staff of experts to advise them how to take advantage of the incomparable library and archival materials, no guidance or assistance beyond that arising out of accident or the generosity of those already overburdened with other tasks. The need to remedy this glaring defect on the cultural landscape of a great capital is overwhelming, is long overdue, and is increasing in dimension with every passing year.

Granting all of this, many difficult questions arise. What services and facilities would such a national center for historical scholarship provide? To whom would these be available? Under what aegis should it be established and how governed? How and to what extent should it be financed? Each of us will have his own appropriate answer to these and other questions, and we shall all have to be guided by the studies now being carried on by the special committee and such others as the Council may authorize. If I may hazard my own view, based largely on what seems to be the consensus derived from the preliminary discussions, I should say most emphatically

that the center should be available to all serious scholars of whatever place or station who make use of the historical approach to knowledge. Its canons of admission should be almost if not quite as catholic as history itself. It may surprise some but it should not be forgotten that at its birth the American Social Science Association stood *in loco parentis* to the American Historical Association. To the extent that those in the social sciences wish or need to make use of the historical method, such a center should not only welcome them but do everything possible to encourage so salutary a tendency. Nor should it by any means confine its services to those trained exclusively in the normal academic disciplines. History has back of it a longer and prouder line of amateurs than perhaps any other profession. These, happily, will always be with us. They are growing more numerous, and their scholarly writings often put those of the professional to shame. The profession will always need the zeal, the compassion, the concern for meticulous accuracy, and the literary style of a Catherine Drinker Bowen, as it will often need her slings and arrows.

It seems most logical that a national center to promote historical study should be founded under the aegis of the organization that speaks for the historical profession, particularly in view of the fact that its domain embraces art, literature, science, politics, and most other areas of human endeavor. On practical grounds, the fact that the American Historical Association derives its charter from the federal government and is legally competent to own property and to manage trusts makes it appropriate that such a center should be founded by it. Even so, I myself should hope that the governing board of the center would include representatives of those institutions of learning in Washington and elsewhere with whose interests those of historical scholarship are inevitably intermingled—the Library of Congress, the National Archives, the Folger Shakespeare Library, the National Gallery of Art, the National Portrait Gallery that will soon be established on a foundation of solid iconographical and biographical scholarship, and, of course, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. I should hope that it might also include those of far vision—"men of universal spirit," William Penn called them—who could speak for the public interest in a way that even historians may not always speak.

In developing the plans for such a national center, we shall be able to profit from the experience of other countries, but I should hope that we would heed Professor Holt's advice to plan with imagination and courage, utilizing the best of what has been done elsewhere but enlarging upon that to meet new needs and new opportunities. No such instrument of scholarship could ever hope to meet its primary responsibilities without providing

suitable living quarters for scholars, an adequate library of reference works, guides, calendars, and indexes, as well as conference rooms, dining facilities, and other necessities and amenities. It should, of course, be the headquarters of the historical profession, and one of its most prominent features should be that agency of growing usefulness by which universities seeking new talent and young scholars seeking positions might achieve their proper ends in an atmosphere of dignity and calm instead of demeaning each other, the profession, and the colleges and universities they represent by the unworthy process that now inevitably takes place under chaotic conditions at our Annual Meetings. A place of dignity and quiet, where learning stands manifest on every wall and where scholars of all ages could meet and exchange views at any time of the year rather than during three frenetic days and nights of frustration, might do more than anything else to elevate the profession and tighten the bonds of unity that have been so noticeably slipping. It could not eliminate this condition of which we are all aware, but it could do much to smooth its harsh edges and soften its unintended cruelties.

Such an instrument for the advancement of learning in an area vital to the public good would amply justify itself if it did no more than to enable scholars of diverse origin from all parts of the world to live and converse together about common purposes during their periods of research in Washington; if it did no more than to provide facilities desperately needed to curtail the drastic levies in time and money upon scholars and their institutions alike because of the lack of such an institution; if it did no more than to stand, as some day it must, as an imposing architectural witness before the world, declaring by its physical presence that a free society cherishes the disciplined study of the past as much as it cherishes its monuments, its historic sites, its restorations, and all of its other evocations of its progress toward greatness, to which both government and philanthropy have properly, if sometimes inadvisedly, made available hundreds of millions of dollars. A nation that did not so cherish the monuments of such a rise to greatness as those at Quincy and Mount Vernon and Monticello would be ill-suited to sustain its place of leadership among the nations. But when Thomas Jefferson spoke of "these precious Monuments of our history," he thought first of all of manuscripts and books such as those he spent a lifetime gathering and finally made available to the government as the foundation of what is now the largest body of intellectual resources in the world. It is to these and other great accumulations of monuments of our culture that scholars will come in increasing numbers, and their need for a gateway to such treasures of the mind and spirit will increase in like manner.

But a center designed to promote historical scholarship would fail to

reach its highest potentialities if its role were merely passive. An obligation would rest upon it and its governing body, it seems to me, to endeavor to stimulate historical investigation along the endless frontiers of history throughout the United States and the world. I should hope that through it the profession would face this responsibility with creative zeal, for most assuredly the world will judge both this proposal and the profession that sponsors it by the manner in which its aims and functions are conceived. It should chart new areas to explore, point to old ones too long neglected. It should speak plainly and pay little heed to the astonishing counsel recently advanced that research has reached the point of diminishing returns. But it should also look inward and ask whether, in our preoccupation with the monograph and in our fashioning of the rewards and incentives of scholarly endeavor, we are today training scholars for tasks beyond the range of a single individual; whether we are leaving to others trained in other specialties the performance of tasks once a part of the historian's duty; whether, when we place the latest of the multiplying collections of monographs under general editorship beside the great cooperative achievement of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, we can truly say which has made the greater contribution to the advancement of knowledge.

Great plans are, of course, now being greatly conceived. One of the most impressive of recent years is concerned with the history of an area and a people who may well decide the shape of the future. Two years ago a few farsighted historians and social scientists brought forth a plan based upon the proposition clear to every student of history that an understanding of China is among the most urgent intellectual and practical challenges now confronting mankind, a challenge bound to become increasingly urgent. They pointed out that no other civilization is so fully documented for the entire period of its history; that no other history, in proportion to its massive historical literature, has been so little explored; that, while Chinese scholarship for millenniums had produced great works in textual criticism and philology, the work of historical analysis and synthesis had scarcely begun; and that the greatest need for anyone concerned with any aspect of this ancient civilization, as all must be soon or late, is a comprehensive exposition of the whole span of Chinese history according to modern standards of scholarship. Such is only one example of the kind of responsibility for stimulating historical investigation in all areas that will almost inevitably fall upon those who inhabit this capitol of scholarship that, like the political capital from which it cannot properly be separated, has ramifications now extending throughout the world. Many other great enterprises press upon us, large and small, demanding to be undertaken.

This brings me to the final point of cost. On this let no one be deceived. The single enterprise that I have mentioned and that the historical profession and the public would be remiss in failing to support with every moral and financial resource that can be brought to bear would require, as an incorporated institute of Chinese studies, many millions of dollars. A suitable building—*only* the building—for a center in Washington for the promotion of historical study in all fields would require at the least ten millions. There would be need for endowment to subsidize living quarters for scholars, an endowment that could properly be looked upon only as a capitalization of that immense loss to scholarly investigation now produced by costly accommodations in an expensive city. There would be many millions more needed for fellowships and for sponsoring great undertakings of scholarship beyond the single monograph to which we have too long been anchored. Let us, then, begin to heed Professor Holt's admonition for imaginative and realistic study of this enterprise by setting a goal in the beginning at not less than forty to fifty millions of dollars. If there are those among us or beyond our circle who gasp at the figure, it is only we who are to blame. We have too long failed to speak plainly, to assert that the disciplined study of the past is necessarily integral with our professions as a free people and indispensable to our maintenance of that freedom. We are no longer historical orphans, and we should not think of ourselves or permit others to think of us as such. "Historians, and all of us who read and study history," declared Thomas Boylston Adams in a memorable address delivered three years ago in the presence of a President of the United States who had a deep sense of history, "have responsibility. History is a powerful force. Historians need to recognize their power. They are apt to be diffident, because if they are true historians they are humble in their ignorance, knowing that absolute truth is not attainable. But a working knowledge of the lessons of history is a necessity for survival. We have to know how we got here. If we step back into any of the old bogs we are done for."²⁵

Let us heed this counsel, expressed in a style that would have brought pride to the speaker's progenitor, that Colossus of Independence, John Adams, who also knew the value of history for a free society. Let us not envy, much less deplore, the billions available for research in science. Let us not envy the large sums available for the thousands of museums, restorations, and historic houses, now growing so fast that a new profession for the study and interpretation of the historical artifact is coming into existence.

²⁵ *Remarks at a special Washington Post Book Luncheon celebrating the publication of the Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, the first four volumes of The Adams Papers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), 21–22.

Let us not envy the great buildings arising everywhere and the large sums available for music, for the theater, and for other manifestations of the human spirit gathered under an unlovely phrase, "the performing arts." It is the business of a nation aspiring to greatness to provide all these and still more resources to enrich the lives of the people. But let us also say to government, to private philanthropy, to the universities, and to ourselves in the profession—this is a common responsibility that we must all face, a common failure that we must repair. If we persist in placing last the study of history which the founders of this nation placed first, we shall deserve whatever obloquy the future may be justified in placing upon us. What we propose is modest indeed, but it must be stated with courage and candor.

We are being told by some amongst us that the American Revolution was of little more than local significance, that our history has a singularity that neither warned nor prepared us for world leadership in a time of revolution, that the American dream has vanished like the frontier, and that our past has been a handicap and a burden to us. One almost stands mute before these observations of earnest students of history, wondering how, if this were so, we have thus far met the demanding role in a manner altogether unprecedented. One turns in deep gratitude to that thoughtful humanist among the scientists who believes that a distinguishing mark of our culture is a sense of responsibility to human history, to its present and its future, and who thinks that the idea of the improvement of human life on earth—the very essence of the American dream—"provided the air for the great fires of science."²⁶

It was this idea, I also believe, that made our Revolution a transforming event by identifying our inheritance and our people, in all of our strengths and weaknesses, with the whole of the human experience. The American society seems under this impulse only beginning, its dream just unfolding. The surest guarantee that this faith will prove true lies in the manner we cherish and promote a true understanding of the past. The capitol for history and for historians that we seek should be worthy of standing beside that Capitol that Thomas Jefferson called the first temple dedicated to the sovereignty of the people. This was a temple, he said, for "a nation looking far beyond the range of Athenian destinies."²⁷ But in either capitol, in order to go beyond that range of greatness, one must know first of all what its boundaries were.

²⁶ J. Robert Oppenheimer, "The Added Cubit," mimeographed text of an address delivered at the National Book Awards, Mar. 12, 1963.

²⁷ Jefferson to Benjamin H. Latrobe, July 12, 1812, Jefferson Papers.

This only history can provide, not as a chart of action or as a blueprint for building, but as a civilizing influence. "The value of history," declared Carl Becker, "is, indeed, not scientific but moral: by liberalizing the mind, by deepening the sympathies, by fortifying the will, it enables us to control, not society, but ourselves—a much more important thing; it prepares us to live more humanely in the present and to meet rather than foretell the future."²⁸ This is a value no society concerned about its liberty or its greatness can disregard. It must be cherished whatever the cost.

²⁸ Quoted in "History and the Humanities," *Report of the Commission on the Humanities* (New York, 1964), 114.

Succession and Monarchy: The Controversy of 1679-1681

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ON Sunday, May 11, 1679, Sir Thomas Player, member of Parliament for the city of London, proposed to the House of Commons "a Bill for excluding the Duke of York by name, and all Papists whatsoever, from the Crown of England."¹ After debate, Richard Hampden, member for Wendover and son of the great John Hampden of ship money fame, formally moved that "a Bill be brought in to disable the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm"; the motion was carried without count.² On Thursday morning, May 15, the bill received its first reading, and on the following Wednesday, May 21, it was referred to a committee of the whole house by a vote of 207 to 128.³ The King's prorogation of Parliament then precluded a third reading.⁴

The introduction of the bill sparked into open controversy an issue that had been disrupting English politics for at least five years, and in its broader implications it focused attention upon a series of political and constitutional questions that had been becoming increasingly significant throughout the nearly twenty years since the Restoration of 1660. Essentially, the difficulty was immediate and simple. James, duke of York, brother and heir of Charles II and therefore presumptive heir to the crown, had become a Roman Catholic, a situation that alarmed Englishmen who saw in the Duke's "alien" religion a threat to English church and government alike. In a broader sense,

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¹ *Parliamentary History of England from the Norman Conquest in 1066 to the Year 1803*, ed. William Cobbett (36 vols., London, 1806-20), IV, 1132.

² Anchitell Grey, *Debates in the House of Commons, From the Year 1667 to the Year 1694. Collected by the Hon. Anchitell Grey, Esq.* . . . (10 vols., London, 1763), VII, 244, 260; *The Journals of the House of Commons* [hereafter cited as *CJ*] (117 vols., London, 1803-63), IX, 620; *Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1133.

³ Grey, *Debates*, VII, 285-86, 314; *CJ*, IX, 623, 626. According to Grey, the bill specified: "First, that James, Duke of York, Albany and Ulster should be incapable of inheriting the Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland, with their dependences, and of enjoying any of the Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues belonging to the said Crowns. Secondly, that in case his Majesty should happen to die, or resign his Dominions, they should devolve upon the person next in Succession, in the same manner as if the Duke was dead. Thirdly, that all Acts of Sovereignty which that Prince might then happen to perform, were not only declared void, but to be High Treason, and punishable as such. . . ." (Grey, *Debates*, VII, 285.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, 314. There were two other Exclusion bills introduced in subsequent sessions, one in 1680, another in 1681.

the possible disqualification of the Duke brought into question not only the issue of succession, but with it the whole question of monarchy—its nature, character, inheritance and prerogative, and, quite specifically, its proper relationship to law and Parliament. For, discussion of the heir's exclusion clearly required a realistic appraisal of the specific dangers that both his succession, and equally the prohibition of his succession, might involve. It also required a careful analysis not only of the theory or theories of English monarchy, but also of the practical balance and nature of political power as it existed and as it might be affected.

Had Charles II had a Prince of Wales, or James of York the Anglican faith, the crisis of 1679–1681 might never have erupted. The experience of the interregnum had proved to many Englishmen the dangers of radical attacks upon established institutions, and the Restoration of 1660 had reflected their confidence in the stability that the tradition of limited, or as the English preferred to call it, regulated or mixed monarchy, offered. Parliament might encroach upon the royal powers, the king ably defend those powers, and the process cause shifts in the balance of political authority, but to challenge the hereditary principle of monarchy was barely short of revolution. However, when James's succession threatened to upset the balance and to destroy regulations and limitations and with them the powers and privileges hard-won by Parliament in the days of the civil wars and then protected and even expanded in contest with the politically able Charles II, parliamentarians responded with the Exclusion Bill. Thus, the introduction of the bill signaled not only an attack upon the expectations of the Duke of York, but also an open examination of the whole character and functioning of English political authority.

The succession problem and the controversy it engendered had developed rather gradually. As the 1670's drew to a close, it became evident that King Charles and his wife, Catherine of Braganza, would have no children and that the crown must pass eventually to Charles's brother, James, duke of York. James, though popular in the early years of the Restoration and noted for his excellent performance as Lord Admiral of England, had in recent years become Roman Catholic and so identified himself with the much-hated Catholic, French interest. The uneasiness with which people anticipated the possibility of a Catholic king was a key factor underlying the great Popish Plot scare, Titus Oates's fame, and the ambitious Earl of Shaftesbury's rise to national prominence. When James began to show signs of being an advocate not only of Catholicism but also of arbitrary government, enemies talked of excluding him from the succession and of settling the descent of the crown

upon his Protestant daughter, Mary of Orange, or possibly upon Charles's illegitimate son, the Duke of Monmouth.

The details of the various moves to have James excluded from his heritage are well and widely chronicled, but what is not often brought out in these general accounts and discussions is the significant fact that the attack upon the legitimate heir to the throne rapidly came to involve a general public re-examination of the problems of succession, of the kingship itself, and of the rapidly changing balance of power between king and Parliament. There was a sudden burst of interest in the various theories and concepts of the origin and significance of political authority in general and English government in particular. The great discussion, which within months prompted the publication of hundreds of pamphlets and letters, was sparked by the realization of Parliament, King, and general public alike that the attack upon the Duke had been an attack upon the monarchy itself and that the alternatives to the legitimate succession advanced by parliamentary leaders had involved basic changes in the balance of political power. The search for an acceptable and workable alternative to James's succession brought about a critical investigation into the institution of monarchy and an interesting awareness on the part of many commentators that if the government or kingship were to be modified, then public and critical assessment of the requirements, values, and character of monarchical government was desirable and necessary.

We must not forget, of course, that the years during and since the civil wars saw a continuing interest in political thought and the writing, if not always the publication, of a number of works concerned with various aspects of the origins and character of government in general.⁵ In 1679 and 1680 this

⁵ Among scholars of this period (1660-80), interest seems to have centered on problems of law and precedent and on the history of institutions, particularly the House of Commons. See, e.g., Thomas Hobbes, "Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Law of England" (1681), reprinted in *The English Works of Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury*, ed. Sir William Molesworth, bart. (11 vols., London, 1839-45), VI, written in the late 1660's; Sir William Dugdale, *Origines Judiciales or Historical Memorials of the English Laws* (1666), and *The Baronage of England* (2 vols., 1675-76); William Prynne, *Brief Animadversions on, Amendments of, and Additional Explanatory Records to, the Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Lawes of England; Concerning the Jurisdiction of Courts, Compiled by the Late Famous Lawyer Sir Edward Cooke, Knight, (Chief Justice of both Benches) in His Life-time, But Published and Reprinted (With Some Disadvantages) Since His Death* (London, 1669); Edward Hyde, *A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State in Mr. Hobbes Book Entitled Leviathan* (Oxford, Eng., 1676); Sir Mathew Hale, *The History and Analysis of the Common Law of England* (London, 1713), written before 1675; William Petyt, *The Antient Right of the Commons of England Asserted* (1680); and especially J. G. A. Pocock's informative and interesting discussion of these issues and works, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957). As for pamphlet literature, here another question is posed. The flurry of publication in 1658-1662 can, of course, be ascribed to the lively interest in political problems that the Restoration aroused, and a second flurry, 1679-1683, is the direct result of the Exclusion controversy. But it cannot be assumed that the paucity of pamphlet

interest was sharpened by a new immediacy and a realization that the old concepts could not much longer remain unchanged in the face of political developments of Charles's reign and more particularly the strain that the accession of the Catholic James would put upon them. With its challenge to the legitimate succession, Parliament had gone beyond the limits of the old ideas, and now new concepts must be devised to guide the parliamentary claims for power that were bound to follow.⁶

The attack began with a simple move to bar James of York from inheriting the throne of England.⁷ But it was soon clear that no acceptable alternative to the legal succession could be presented. It is true that the obvious defects in the character of the young Monmouth, a leading candidate presented by the radical Shaftesbury faction, made many who might even have been persuaded that his illegitimacy was no bar feel that he might well be no improvement over the Catholic York. There was no evidence that Mary, James's daughter, would be willing to accept the crown or act as regent or that her Dutch husband would permit her to do so, and no assurance that Mary or her sister Anne would outlive James of York, or even Charles of England. It gradually became clear to all during the parliamentary debates and public discussions that followed the exclusionists' attacks that to abandon the traditional principle of legitimate succession would create a great number of new, difficult, and hazardous issues.

The King was adamant in his refusal to permit the exclusion of James, not because of any deep love or respect for his brother, for in fact he loved his son much more, but because he was determined not to subject the succession to the authority of Parliament. When it became clear that the King would never approve a bill modifying the legitimate line of succession, moderates prepared a substitute bill designed to protect England and the English church from the worst evils of a Catholic king. They planned to deprive any

literature between 1662 and 1679 denotes any slackening of interest in politics and political thought. Instead, the strict censorship imposed by the passage of the Licensing Act of 1662 (in force until 1679) and the appointment of the noted royalist Roger L'Estrange to administer it must bear much of the responsibility. (See David Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II* [2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1956], II, 515-16.) Review of the parliamentary debates clearly reveals, repeatedly and consistently, an acute awareness of the "royal prerogative," and "parliamentary privileges and powers," and more importantly, the balance and shifting relationships between the two.

⁶ It is interesting to note that all theories are, however, put forth within the traditional pattern of king, Lords, and Commons.

⁷ For good modern accounts, see J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (New York, 1961), and Francis S. Ronalds, *The Attempted Whig Revolution of 1678-81* (Urbana, Ill., 1937); also Sir John Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, From the Dissolution of the Last Parliament of Charles II Until the Sea-battle off La Hogue* (2 vols., London, 1771-88), and Gilbert Burnet, *Burnet's History of My Own Time, Part One: The Reign of Charles the Second*, ed. Osmund Airy (2 vols., Oxford, Eng., 1900).

monarch refusing to take an oath against transubstantiation of the right to dispose of ecclesiastical offices and perform certain ecclesiastical functions and stipulated that all royal children must be reared as Protestants.⁸ Even Charles, recognizing that the move against James grew primarily out of the English fear of France and Catholicism, seems, at one point, to have considered a number of expedients whereby James, though retaining the title and style of king, would have been banished from England with the authority of the crown transferred to a regent, either Mary of Orange, James's eldest daughter, or in event of death, her sister Princess Anne.⁹

The moderates' bill was never passed, and the royal expedients were never put into practice. Despite the agitation of the radicals, it was evident that England as a whole was not yet ready to destroy a valued tradition merely for the sake of avoiding a possibility.¹⁰ And many were as wary of the ambitions of Monmouth and his mentor, Shaftesbury, as they were of the Catholicism of the legitimate heir.¹¹ Charles himself decided that dangerous though James's reign might prove to English politics and church, the uncertainties of a regency made any compromise with parliamentary faction and any permanent submission of the royal succession to parliamentary pressure or decision inadvisable.¹²

⁸ See Andrew Marvell, "An Account of the Growth of Popery, and Arbitrary Government in England," reprinted in *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell*, ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (4 vols., London, 1872-75), and also in *State Tracts: Being a Collection of several Treatises Relating to Government—Privately Printed in the Reign of K. Charles II* (London, 1689). Marvell presents an account of and comment on the bill. According to the Andrew Browning edition of Sir John Resesby's memoirs, the plan also prescribed that should a papist succeed to the throne, Parliament should immediately assemble, settle the affairs of the kingdom, choose military, civil, and ecclesiastical officers, and take control of the militia. (*Memoirs of Sir John Resesby*, ed. Andrew Browning [Glasgow, 1936], 179.)

⁹ Ogg states that these expedients were drawn up by Halifax, "possibly at the suggestion of Littleton," and approved by the King. (Ogg, *England in the Reign of Charles II*, II, 615; see also the pamphlet, *Heads of the Expedient Proposed in the Parliament at Oxford . . .* [London, 1681], and the speech of the Lord Chancellor, Apr. 30, 1679, in *Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1128.)

¹⁰ There was no assurance, of course, that James, only three years younger than his brother, would survive the King.

¹¹ Perhaps they had reason to be. In a pamphlet entitled *An Appeal from the Country to the City for the Preservation of his Majesties Person, Liberty, Property and the Protestant Religion* (London, 1679), 7-8, the writer (anonymous), a supporter of the Duke of Monmouth, remarks: "And remember, the old Rule is, He who hath the worst Title, ever makes the best King; as being constrain'd by a Gracious Government, to supply what he wants in Title; that instead of God and my Right, his motto may be, God and My People." Of "causing to be printed and sold" this "Libel," Benjamin Harris, bookseller, was judged guilty. (*A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanours from the Earliest Times to the Year 1783*, ed. T. B. Howell [33 vols., London, 1816-26], VII, 926-31.)

¹² Even Lord Russell agreed with the King in this matter. "I . . . thought it better to have a King with his Prerogative, and the Nation easie and safe under him, than a King without it, which must have bred perpetual Jealousies, and a continual struggle." ("Speech of Lord Russel," in *State Tracts: Being a Farther Collection of Several Choice Treatises Relating to*

However, once Shaftesbury, capitalizing upon the "revelations" of the Popish Plot, had put forward Monmouth's name as a possible successor to Charles, and less radical parliamentarians had considered a regency of James's daughters, despite Charles's opposition to either move, controversy had risen and raged. Pamphleteers had been quick to recognize the implications of a disputed succession and had taken the opportunity to air old and new views concerning the succession and Parliament's moves to alter it.

Comment was varied. There were many who, true to the tradition that had brought the first of the Stuarts to England's throne, claimed that "the Succession of the Crown to the next of Bloud is a law eternal, and wrote with the immediate hand of God and nature."¹³ The right and title to the crown were the king's inherent birthright, reported royalist Edward Bagshaw, and no subject could impose conditions upon the crown nor offer anything but obedience and loyalty to it.¹⁴ John Nalson agreed: "we maintain that the King is King by an inherent birthright, by Nature, by Gods Law, and by the Law of the Land."¹⁵

But others were eager to object that the succession to the crown was not and never could be such a simple matter. Algernon Sidney remarked that the kingship could never have been solely a matter of inheritance, for "the first kings were not fathers, nor the first fathers kings."¹⁶ He went on to point out that the law of blood succession posed many difficulties, for custom varied, even in England, on such matters as the relative validity of the claims of uncle and grandson, or daughter and brother.¹⁷ One need look no further than

the Government. From the Year 1660 to 1689 [London, 1692], 264.) William Garroway, like Lord Russell considered a radical, echoed this hesitancy to alter the succession with an uncertain regency. His fears, however, were for the nation itself. "I am more afraid of any Army without a General, than a General without an Army." (*The Faithfull Register; Or the Debates of the House of Commons in Three Several Parliaments; vis. . . . Westminster, Oct. 21, 1680 . . . Oxford, March 21, 1680 . . . Westminster, Novemb. 9, 1685 . . .* [London, 1689], 27.)

¹³ E.F., *A Letter from a Person of Quality in the Country to his Friend, upon his being Chosen a Member to serve in the approaching Parliament, and desiring his Advice. Being an Argument relating to the Point of Succession to the Crown* ([London,] 1679), 5.

¹⁴ Edward Bagshaw, *The Rights of the Crown of England, As it is established by Law* (London, 1660), 25-26; see also W.P., *The Divine Right of Kings Asserted in General: Ours in Particular; both by the Laws of GOD, and this Land* (London, 1680). Bagshaw (1629-71), a "divine and controversialist," born in Northamptonshire, educated at Christ Church, Oxford, was ejected from his living in 1662 and, despite these views, was thought to be a "fanatic" in his abuse of the government. (*The Dictionary of National Biography . . . From the Earliest Times to 1900* [hereafter cited as *DNB*], ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee [22 vols., London, 1885-91], I, 874-75.)

¹⁵ [John Nalson,] *The King's Prerogative, and the Subjects Privileges Asserted According to Law and Reason . . .* (London, 1680), II. Nalson (1638?-86), educated at Cambridge, rector of Doddington, then prebend at Ely, was perhaps the most prolific royalist pamphleteer of his time. (*DNB*, XIV, 29-31.)

¹⁶ Algernon Sidney, *Discourses on Government. Pub. from an Original Manuscript of the Author. To Which is Added, an Account of the Author's Life, and a Copious Index* (3 vols., New York, 1805), I, 366.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 401-402.

the claim of Richard of York, or if one wished, to Henry Plantagenet, to see that the "inherent birthright" often gave way before other considerations.¹⁸ Actually Sidney wished to point out that though one might have fine theories about how and to whom the honor of kingship should descend, circumstances often made theories impractical, and that, in fact, succession had always been determined by a combination of theoretical and practical factors.

The root of the problem lay in the difference of opinion as to whether a king was crowned merely because he was born next in blood to the preceding monarch, and, as one writer put it, "if we murmur against them, we murmur at God's management of the world," or because, as that coronation signified, he had been chosen by God and man to hold the office of kingship in trust, to perform its duties and assume its responsibilities.¹⁹ Sir William Temple pointed out that in private affairs if an eldest son proved that he possessed "qualities degenerate and ill," and thereby "happens to lose all trust and opinion," he must not expect to inherit the estate.²⁰ Thomas Hunt suggested that a successor to the crown attained by judicial process could not succeed, for even a king could not pardon treasons nor erase moral incapacities.²¹ And, for Hunt, it was the people, or their representatives in Parliament, who determined this moral capability.²² Sidney agreed that the approval of the people being governed was necessary in naming the king, else, he felt, "if the next heir be actually king, seized of the power by the death of his predecessor, so that there is no intermission; then all the solemnities, and religious ceremonies, used at the coronation of their kings, with oaths given and taken, are the most profane abuses of sacred things."²³ Identifying the people (or Par-

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 122. In the House of Commons Sir Francis Winnington announced a list of the times "that the Crown has passed not by Descent, according to lineal Descent, but has been settled as emergencies have required." (Grey, *Debates*, VII, 453.)

¹⁹ "The Mischiefs and Unreasonableness of Endeavouring to deprive his Majesty of the Affections of his Subjects, by misrepresenting him and his Ministers" (1681), reprinted in *The Harleian Miscellany; or, a Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets, and Tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, found in the late Earl of Oxford's Library* (12 vols., London, 1806-10), I, 53.

²⁰ Sir William Temple, "An Essay Upon the Original and Nature of Government Written in the Year 1672," in *The Works of Sir William Temple, Bart.* (4 vols., London, 1770), I, 46.

²¹ [Thomas Hunt,] *The Great and Weighty Considerations Relating to the Duke of York . . . Considered with an Answer to a Letter, from a Gentleman of Quality in the Country to his Friend, relating to the Point of Succession to the Crown . . .* (London, 1680), 31. Hunt (1627?-88), educated at Cambridge and Gray's Inn, then steward of the estates for the Dukes of Buckingham and Norfolk, is noted chiefly for his impassioned defense of "the principle of two witnesses" at Stafford's trial and for his writings in support of the city of London and its municipal charter in 1683. (*DNB*, X, 278-79.)

²² "The Descent and Succession of the Crown is governed and directed by the Presumed Will of the People." Hunt goes on to declare that the inheritance of the crown is not to be decided, as private estates are, by wills and settlements. And, in case there should be no heir, the crown cannot escheat, as can by feudal usage private property, but "it belongs to the people to make a new king or to make none." (Hunt, *Great and Weighty Considerations*, 32.)

²³ Sidney, *Discourses*, III, 116-17. The anonymous writer of *A Letter From a Gentleman in*

liament) and the law, the writer of "Pereat Papa" echoed Sidney's belief: "he that comes not to the Crown . . . as the Law notifies and prescribes, it is no lawful Succession, but downright usurpation."²⁴ This, of course, implied Parliament's authority to define the laws concerning succession, and with this implication crept in the possibility of an elective monarchy.

To this thought T.B. answered with indignation: "Kings are not the children of the most voices, but children of the most high."²⁵ And E.F., objecting to the idea that Parliament, by any act of attainder, bill, or judgment could deprive a lawful heir of his inheritance, wrote, "The right Heir of the Crown cannot be barr'd or excluded by Act of Parliament: Because the Accession and Descent of the Crown in an instant absolutely purgeth and dischargeth all Obstructions and Incapacities whatsoever, created by the same Act of Parliament."²⁶

It is likely that these challenges to the principle of legitimacy arose largely from the changing role of the monarchy itself. When, in previous centuries, the crown had rested more secure in its supremacy, and parliamentarians had not yet thought or perhaps dared to challenge the royal authority, it had not been hard to think that a king had been called to his post by divine choice. Indeed, so far were his duties and responsibilities removed from the experience and understanding of most men, and so closely were his policies and choice of ministers a part of his individual character, that it is easy to understand why Englishmen might well feel that Providence alone could determine who might occupy the exalted post.

But now, in 1679, the absolutism constructed by the Tudors out of the disorders of the fifteenth century had long since faded. The king had been defeated in war by elements within his own nation, elements that had them-

the City to One in the Country concerning the Bill for Disabling the Duke of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm (London, 1680, dated Nov. 8, 1678) agrees, and notes that at the coronation ceremony the nobles do not do homage to the newly crowned king until they have been asked three times if they accept him. Furthermore, the letter writer states, the people, "Universally present, . . . when Represented in Parliament," must also give "virtual or implicate consent." (Sec. 10, 14-15.)

²⁴ "Pereat Papa: or Reasons Why a Presumptive Heir, or Popish Successor Should not Inherit the Crown," reprinted in *A Second Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts on the Most Interesting and Entertaining Subjects: But chiefly such as relate to the History and Constitution of these Kingdoms. Selected from an infinite Number in Print and Manuscript in the Royal, Cotton, Sion, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries, particularly that of the late Lord Somers* (3 vols., London, 1750), III, 306.

²⁵ T.B., *The Original of Kingly and Ecclesiastical Government* (1681), 4.

²⁶ E.F., *Letter from a Person of Quality*, 9. E.F.'s statement was prompted by a provision of the proposed Exclusion Bill of 1680, which after outlining a number of offenses, including Catholicism, that might disqualify an heir to the throne, stated "That the said James Duke of York, or any other person, being guilty of any of the Treasons aforesaid, shall not be capable of, or receive benefit of any Pardon, otherwise than by Act of Parliament. . . ." (*Faithfull Register*, 85.)

selves successfully maintained the processes of government for nearly twenty years. Restored to his throne, the monarch had been forced to submit to continual attacks upon his kingly prerogatives, attacks that the able Charles II met with determination and some success. But the result of these had been to compel the king to abandon his lofty supremacy, to acknowledge the increased interest, influence, and experience of Parliament itself, and to defend what remained of his power through clever exploitation of his own political strength. No longer could the character of the monarchy reflect only the character of the monarch himself; now it was dictated by the continuing pressure of parliamentary ambition. In practical terms, no longer could any king expect to rule successfully who could not accept the new balance and sufficiently understand and perform his role within it.

Writers of the time were certainly aware of this new conflict between the old idea of the king as a father of his people and the new demands requiring him to be a clever and practical politician. It is perfectly clear that the chief objections to James's succession were based upon the realization that a Catholic king avowing Louis XIV's concept of kingship and openly devoted to a religious principle incompatible with the English Establishment could not be expected to understand, as Charles had, the delicate adjustment of powers being worked out by king and Parliament. And, in the course of the conflicts of Charles's reign, this adjustment between crown and Parliament, or prerogative and subject right, had developed into a pattern of powers so intricate and so intertwined that any king unable or unwilling to comprehend it might destroy the entire balance and stability of the government.

Therefore, we cannot be surprised to find the pamphleteers trying to analyze the new monarchy and the new and different demands being made upon it. One of the most popular and undoubtedly most successful ways of approaching the subject was to separate the character of the kingship into its natural and political capacities.²⁷ The king had, of course, long possessed certain powers quite unconnected with his personality, specifically those having to do with procedures in courts of law. Here, the king as crown or state functioned in a completely nonpersonal, institutionalized, and formalized manner.²⁸ In contrast, it was assumed that the king himself exercised personally the duties of administration, foreign affairs, militia command, in fact all the functions of executive government. But now, in these later years of Charles's reign, we see an interesting attempt on the part of commentators to lengthen

²⁷ For an excellent and informative discussion of the origins and early development of this concept, see Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N. J., 1957).

²⁸ Sidney, *Discourses*, III, 57.

the list of functions ascribed to the formal or political capacity of the king and to shorten that of those within the power of his natural capacity. There was a distinct effort made by some to place the more controversial powers of the king in this "politic" category, and so circumscribe them with parliamentary regulations and reservations that the "natural" king could not make his personal influence felt upon their exercise. This adaptation of an old idea to a specific and practical end was a clever device, probably reflecting the most constructive sort of thinking upon the problems of a monarchy that had become too complex and demanding to expand and contract to suit the whim, fancy, or ability of each succeeding king.

These concepts of the "politic" and "natural" bodies of the king are complex in themselves. Certain writers chose to stress the separateness of the two bodies. An early commentator, speaking of the king's political capacity, says that "by his gentle authority, this scabbard of prerogative, tumult was curbed, faction moderated, usurpation forestalled, intervals prevented, perpetuities obviated, equity administered, clemency exalted."²⁹ Obviously, any successful ruler must perform these functions. But the same writer continues: "Certain it is, that as our king, in his personal capacity, made no laws, so neither did he, by himself, interpret or execute any. No judge took notice of his single command. . . . His private will could not countermand his public."³⁰ It was this separation of the public from the private capacity of the king, and the possible incompatibility of the two "characters" in an individual unsuccessful king, that was at the basis of Thomas Rymer's claim that if "he who is of Royal Extraction, clad in Purple, and called a King, is not always naturally such: it is wisdom, certainly most seasonable, to find the means that might correct, and (as it were) ensure Nature against Impotence and Tyranny."³¹ And Sidney agreed that if the private will and character of the king were such that he could not carry out his royal duties, he must then no longer rule.³²

The writer of "Vox Populi," a pamphlet listing legal maxims suitable to

²⁹ "A Plea for a Limited Monarchy," reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, I, 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Thomas Rymer, *Of the Antiquity, Power & Decay of Parliaments. Being a General View of Government, and Civil Policy, in Europe; with Other Historical and Political Observations, Relating Thereunto* (London, 1714), 58-59. This was first published in 1684. Rymer (1641-1713) was educated at Cambridge and Gray's Inn. His father, an "ardent roundhead," was tried and hanged after the 1663 uprising. (*DNB*, XVII, 554-57.)

³² "It were less improper for the heirs of Hales and Harvey to pretend, that the clients and patients of their ancestors should depend upon their advice, in matters of law and physis, than for the heirs of a great and wise prince to pretend to powers given on account of virtue, if they have not the same talents for the performance of the works required." (Sidney, *Discourses*, IV, 192; see also the speech of Henry Booth before the House of Commons in *Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1195.)

support the exclusionists' position, states clearly, "That the King is so called from Ruling well. . . . Because he is a King whilst he rules well, but a tyrant when he oppresses."³³ This idea, however, that a king possessed his crown not by birthright alone, but in trust only so long as he should properly perform his duties, was anathema to such as E.F., who could only say of the monarch that "the Ligeance and Fidelity of the Subject is due to that person by the immutable Law of nature."³⁴

Conservative writers were amazed and alarmed to see the radicals separating the kingship into "politic" and "natural" characters. "We maintain that the Politick capacity is not to be severed from the natural," boldly stated Nalson.³⁵ Sir Robert Poyntz agreed: "The Politick capacity of the King which never dyeth, never ceaseth, is inseparably annexed unto his natural person untill his death, and both are conjoynd at the very instant, that the right of the Crown descendeth unto him."³⁶ John Brydall went on to prove the point. It was obvious, he believed, that allegiance was due to the natural as well as the "body politic," because the law of treason provided penalty for "encompassing the death of the king," and only the natural body could suffer death.³⁷ Nalson expanded Brydall's idea to say that treason of this sort could never be committed against a body corporate, which "hath no Soul, no Life, and subsists only by the Fiction of the Law," but only "against the natural person of him, who to some purposes is a Body Corporate."³⁸ And E.F. explains, "upon Descent of the Crown immediately a Body Politic is superadded to the Body Natural of the King's; and these two Bodies in an instant become Consolidate, Consubstantiate, and Indivisible in one and the same Royal Person."³⁹

But the words of the conservatives could not alter the circumstances. For

³³ "Vox Populi; or the Peoples Claim to their Parliament's Sitting, to Redress Grievances and to provide for the Common Safety, by the known Laws and Constitution of the Nation" (London, 1681), in *State Tracts . . . a Farther Collection*, 219. The idea, of course, is an old one, expressed and examined by John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, Bk. IV, Chaps. 1-iv, vii, x), John Wycliffe, Henry de Bracton, and Sir John Fortescue. (For a good analysis of Bracton's views, see Fritz Schulz, "Bracton on Kingship," *English Historical Review*, LX [May 1945], 136-76; see also J. W. Gough, *Fundamental Law in English Constitutional History* [Oxford, Eng., 1955].)

³⁴ E.F., *Letter from a Person of Quality*, 4.

³⁵ Nalson, *King's Prerogative*, 11.

³⁶ Sir Robert Poyntz, *A Vindication of Monarchy and the Government long established in the Church and Kingdom of England . . .* (London, 1661), 128.

³⁷ John Brydall, *Decus and Tutamen; or, a Prospect of the Laws of England, Purposely framed for the Safeguard of the King's Majesty* (London, 1679), 40.

³⁸ Nalson, *King's Prerogative*, 4.

³⁹ E.F., *Letter from a Person of Quality*, 8. Sir William Pultney told the House of Commons: "They make the King but a Shadow, and they divide Person from Power, our Law will not endure it. This must be two Kings at the same time. . . ." (*Faithfull Register*, 325-26; *Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1321.) Burnet reflects, "For though, generally speaking, the king's person and his power were not to be distinguished, yet that was not universally true. . . . An infant king or a lunatic were exceptions, as also a king in his enemies hands." (Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ed. Airy, II, 82.)

Rymer and Sidney had seen what they did not: that the office of the kingship was becoming so demanding, the relationships with Parliament and the law so intricate, and the administrative duties so onerous that no single man, royal or not, could be expected to comprehend, much less direct, all the activities carried out in the royal name. The expansion of imperial interests, the rapid growth of trade, the development of cities, the assumption by the state of social, judicial, and even certain educational and political functions once exercised by the Church had all served to increase the burden now resting on the crown. It is interesting that some hoped to meet this situation by excluding from the kingship any candidate or heir whose natural character could not work in harmony with his "body politic," or public capacity. On this point, however, royal Charles was more realistic than his subjects. It became clear that the radical solution would never be adopted, for as one writer put it, and as the King himself was known to feel, "for the same Reason which People may think sufficient to exclude the Right Heir, may (when they please) be deem'd valid enough also to depose, and eject the lawful possessor of the crown."⁴⁰ If James did not please the people, who could be sure that any other heir would? The search for the perfect king, an impossible task at best given the increasingly taxing requirements of the crown, would end in the complete metamorphosis of a traditional succession into a purely elective monarchy.

But there were those who saw another way out of the question. Henry Neville, like his king, believed that the new monarchy required new regulations, but thought it foolish to establish a kingship so demanding that no legitimate heir could perform its duties, and he suggested instead that the kingship itself be so modified that the possibly defective natural character of the king could never affect his public functions. It would be easier to strengthen the government and the "public" capacity of the crown than to expect a succession of kings to measure up personally to the impossible demands of office. Neville saw such strengthening and the practical severance of the two capacities of the king as the only hope and clearly said of James's possible succession: "it is needless to make any Provision against a Popish Successor if you rectifie your Government; and if you do not, all the Care and Circumspection you can use in that Particular will be useless and of none effect, and will but at last . . . end probably in a Civil War about Title."⁴¹

⁴⁰ E.F., *Letter from a Person of Quality*, 8. On this point, Colonel L's (Legge?) comment in the House of Commons is interesting: "I cannot doubt but that this House is for keeping up the Monarchical Government of this Nation, we all know how the ballance hath been attended by Henry the 7th's lessening the Peers, and Henry the 8th's destroying the Church and by the Sale of the Crown-Lands. I pray, Sir, let us have a care, how we give a greater blow than all this, by making the Crown Elective." (*Faithfull Register*, 99.)

⁴¹ [Henry Neville,] *Plato Redivivus: or A Dialogue concerning Government, Wherein by*

We are seeing here the development of the substitution of the concept of the king as a public and political institution for the old concept of the king as personal head of government. The conservative writers could not understand the changes that were taking place, nor could, in fact, James of York. But thinkers of Sidney's type could clearly see that York could never meet the requirements of the English crown as well as the clever and able Charles had done, and thought indeed that even in Charles's case the King's own actions and words indicated that a concept of personal kingship would no longer suffice to meet the new demands being made upon the monarchy. In their hopes of avoiding conflict over the suitability of every prospective occupant of the throne, they wanted to set up definite standards of character and performance. But, of course, this could never prove workable, and, as Neville foresaw, imaginative politicians soon moved from trying to reform and restrain human nature into reshaping the monarchy itself. By judicious use of the increasing power of Parliament, they placed an insulation of law and custom between the public authority and private will of the monarch to the point that only thirty-five years later a German, speaking almost no English and completely unfamiliar with English politics, could, despite his personal deficiencies, rule England with success.

Since politicians had dared to attack the legitimate succession, and with it the principle of inherited monarchy itself, writers began to reconsider, in the light of changing circumstances, the issues that had been debated often in the days of the old monarchy. It was clear that the increasing scope of parliamentary authority was rapidly making older concepts of kingship obsolete and was, at the same time, necessitating reconsideration of the old questions of the relationship of that monarchy to law and Parliament itself.

There were, as Charles's reign progressed, still certain writers who were content to repeat the traditional phrases. Edward Chamberlayne, a chronicler of the age, was still carefully listing, in detail and without critical comment, the prerogatives that custom ascribed to the traditional monarchy.⁴² But more imaginative writers were busy testing those lists in theory as parliamentarians had in practice. And even those who accepted conservative principles and re-

Observations drawn from other KINGDOMS and STATES both Ancient and Modern, an Endeavour is used to discover the present POLITICK DISTEMPER of our OWN, with the CAUSES and REMEDIES (London, 1681), 192.

⁴² Edward Chamberlayne, *Angliae Notitia: or the Present State of England: The First Part. Together with Divers Reflections upon the Ancient State Thereof* (London, 1673), 91 ff. Chamberlayne (1616-1703), born in Gloucestershire and educated at Oxford, spent the war period in exile, and returned at the Restoration. He was appointed secretary to the Earl of Carlisle and tutor to Charles II's illegitimate son, the Duke of Grafton, and then to George of Denmark. He also carried out minor diplomatic missions for the King, and wrote and translated historical tracts. (DNB, IV, 8-9.)

fused to admit that Parliament could limit the prerogative of the king were becoming interested, as Thomas Hobbes and Robert Filmer had been, in the origins and rationale of monarchical supremacy. There was, in fact, a real burst of interest in rival ideas of the historical basis of kingly authority.⁴³ Samuel Parker believed that monarchical power was founded directly upon paternal authority, an idea widely publicized by the early Stuarts and expanded by Filmer.⁴⁴ But James Tyrrell claimed that the power of a father was limited in time and scope and differed in character from area to area. He went on to cite examples of cases in which paternal authority had been exercised to the detriment of the child's welfare and showed that a child might be forced to resist a parent to uphold God's law.⁴⁵ Sidney agreed that Parker's (or Filmer's) identification of royal and paternal power was a mistake and that "the patriarchal power resembles not the regal in principle or practice."⁴⁶ He averred that patriarchal authority was based essentially upon a community of family or tribal interests, whereas royal authority was external and political in character.

It is interesting to note that the concept of an original contract or compact between prince and people, described in different forms by Hobbes, Filmer, and a number of other theorists, was widely accepted by the pamphleteers and political commentators of the day. But in 1661 Poyntz argued that kings and the universal laws by which they ruled had "risen up in the foundation of all kingdoms."⁴⁷ And Oxford University, as late as 1683, condemned a long list of political principles including the idea that "all Civil Authority is derived originally from the People" and that "there is a mutual compact, tacit or express, between a Prince and his Subjects."⁴⁸ But they were defending a

⁴³ See Pocock, *Ancient Constitution*.

⁴⁴ Samuel Parker, *A Discourse of Ecclesiastical Politie, Wherein the Authority of the Civil Magistrate over the Consciences of Subjects in Matters of Religion is Asserted . . .* (London, 1670), 29. Parker (1640–88), bishop of Oxford, though educated as a Puritan and Presbyterian, became a Church of England member and a divine in 1663. Secretary to Gilbert Sheldon, archbishop of Canterbury, he held offices there until his interest in philosophy, his writings on ecclesiastical history and political science, and his advocacy of the absolute power of the crown attracted the attention of James II, who named him bishop of Oxford, and then, against the wishes of the fellows, president of Magdalen College. He was not, however, a Roman Catholic and, as president of Magdalen, rejected royal efforts to exercise influence there. (*DNB*, XV, 272–75.)

⁴⁵ [Sir James Tyrrell,] *Patriarcha non Monarcha* (London, 1681), *passim*. Tyrrell (1642–1718) was born near London and educated at Oxford, Gray's Inn, and the Inner Temple. He did not practice law, but retired to the country, where he was active as a justice of the peace and deputy lieutenant until deprived of office by James II. He was known as a friend of John Locke and an advocate of limited monarchy. (*DNB*, XIX, 1368–69.)

⁴⁶ Sidney, *Discourses*, I, 429.

⁴⁷ Poyntz, *Vindication of Monarchy*, 103.

⁴⁸ "A Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford, passed in their Convocation, July 21, 1683, against certain pernicious Books and Damnable Doctrines," reprinted in *State Tracts . . . a Farther Collection*, 153–54.

losing cause. For in 1680 John Mathew was declaring that "the King was made for the need and necessity of the People, and not They for Him."⁴⁹ Though Nalson argued conscientiously against those who believed the kingship held "in trust," even Poyntz was forced to admit that perhaps royal authority had originally been granted by the people, though, he made clear, the grant once made could never be withdrawn or modified.⁵⁰

All these writers recognized and accepted the old but too often overlooked principle that royal government, as any government, must benefit the subject as well as the ruler. The compact theory that Oxford rejected, but that even royalists were inclined to admit, rested on the principle that subjects and rulers alike must accept and perform the various duties that their positions demanded of them. Should the monarch fail to perform the duties expected of him, subjects could rightfully seek redress.⁵¹ "The only ends for which governments are constituted, and obedience rendered unto them," said Sidney, stating the republican view clearly, "are the obtaining of justice and protection; and they who cannot provide for both, give the people a right of taking such ways as best please themselves, in order to [defend] their own safety."⁵² Even Mathews, despite his protestations that royal birth alone entitled the king to the allegiance of his subjects, came to the conclusion that:

if the King be regardless of his Trust and their Safety, and lets the Enemies graze along his Kingdom: or if any of his Ministers prove false to the State, and either take part with a Foreign; or become a Home-Enemy and the King strive not to suppress them, or call . . . and invite them to despoil his good Subjects; then . . . is the Danger in Extremity, and then is the first Plea for the Law of Necessity . . . to seek Preservation of himself and his Country.⁵³

The issue, of course, was far from settled. The Revolution of 1688 and even the years after saw those who still believed that no circumstances could warrant a subject's resistance to his lawful monarch. But the advocates of nonresistance were destined to become fewer and their voices weaker, as parliamentarians continued to prove that the people not only might but would compel the king to perform his duties as they saw fit.

⁴⁹ [John Mathew,] *Certain Material and Useful Considerations about the Laws Positive, and Laws of Necessity, Relating to the Unhappy Distractions of the Present Times* (London, 1680), 13.

⁵⁰ Poyntz, *Vindication of Monarchy*, 122.

⁵¹ Even royalists of a more moderate sort accepted the concept of royal duty to the law and custom of the kingdom. In *The True Notion of Government: Shewing, I, The Original of Government. II, The Several Forms of Government. III, The Obligations betwixt Governours and Governed. In Vindication of Kingly Prerogative* (London, 1681), T.L., gent. [John Nalson], claims, "For Princes are tried and circumscribed in the exercise of their Power by Laws"; he then goes on to say, "yet it is not to be understood, that they are restrained by the Efficient and Compulsive part of them, but by the Exemplary only (p. 27)."

⁵² Sidney, *Discourses*, III, 266.

⁵³ Mathew, *Certain Material Considerations*, 6.

The events of Charles's reign had shown that despite royalist claims that the royal prerogative came from God, and was not subject to human modification, Parliament had proved itself adept and able to claim for itself influence in the exercise of these very kingly powers.⁵⁴ Whether or not the king himself might be supreme, clearly his various prerogatives were open to parliamentary attack. Many writers were quick to recognize that the king was in fact much limited by law and, having little patience with the conservatives who were still concerned with expounding the monarch's extralegal status, were eager to investigate from a practical point of view the intricate and complex adjustments between royal prerogative and subject right, which had recently been developed. One pamphleteer baldly told his conservative compatriots: "If this Government be a . . . Regulated Monarchy; then it is a fond thing with us to talk of an absolute Monarch, and what an Absolute Monarch is, or may do. And it is only the language of Flattery that holds such Discourses."⁵⁵ The writer goes on to inquire, "If the Government be regulated, why do men tell us that the King is above all Law? for it is by Law that he is Regulated."⁵⁶ Henry Booth agreed that "the King holds Prerogative by the Law," and Andrew Marvell, a practical and experienced politician, could only point out that the king's "very Prerogative is no more than that what the Law had determined."⁵⁷ Shaftesbury had told the Lords nearly five years earlier: "My Principle is, That the King is King by Law, and by the same Law that the poor man enjoys his Cottage."⁵⁸ With these ideas, of a royal inheritance reduced very nearly to the level of a common legal property right, it is easy to see how Parliament, as protector of property and maker of laws, could

⁵⁴ As late as 1680 Sir Leoline Jenkins, member for Oxford University and according to Burnet, "secretary of state . . . chief manager for the court . . . considered learned . . . but dull and slow . . . a great asserter of the divine right of monarchy and for carrying the prerogative high. . . . All his speeches and arguments against the exclusion were heard with indignation" (Burnet, *History of My Own Time*, ed. Airy, II, 257), stated "I am of the opinion, that the kings of England have their right from God alone; and that no power on earth can deprive them of it." (*Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1190.) Sir Francis Winnington, member for Worcester, agreed: "The king hath his right from God, and as supreme, is accountable to none; his person is sacred, and, by our laws, can do no wrong." (*Ibid.*, 1211.) And Daniel Finch of Litchfield assented: "But I will deny, that the kings of England rule by virtue of any statute law, as was suggested; for their right is by so ancient a prescription, as that it may justly be said, to be from God alone; and that no power on earth ought to dispute it." (*Ibid.*, 1214.)

⁵⁵ "A Political Catechism," reprinted in *State Tracts: Being a Collection of several Treatises*, 447.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ "The Speech of the Honorable Henry Booth, Esq., Spoken at Chester, March 2, 1680-1 . . .," in *State Tracts . . . a Farther Collection*, 149; Marvell, *Growth of Popery*, 249. In Parliament, Mr. Edmund Waller, "the oldest parliament-man among you," referred to Bracton's principle that "the king governs by law." (*Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 751-52.)

⁵⁸ *The Earl of Shaftesbury's Speech in the House of Lords the 20th of October 1675* (Amsterdam, 1675), 10. The radical nature of Shaftesbury's claim was clearly recognized. In refer-

claim as its right and duty an interest in the laws and principles affecting the succession.

Actually these writers were stating nothing very new. Great interest in the regulations affecting monarchy had flared when it seemed possible for a while that statute law might exclude a legitimate heir from England's throne, but parliamentarians and king alike had accepted for many years the assumption that law could define and limit the king's exercise of authority. It had been made clear already that in judicial and ecclesiastical matters the king found his decisions effectively prescribed by law and tradition. But during Charles's reign the character of the forces limiting the monarchy had changed. For now it was neither the custom of the common law nor the great statutes that in Tudor times king and Parliament had devised together that were defining the new limits of royal authority. No longer did the crown play so positive a role in the regulation of royal powers. Now the House of Commons, as the more aggressive house of Parliament, armed chiefly with the sharp weapon of financial control and directed by clever and ambitious leaders, attacked the specific powers of the monarch, who in turn was forced to defend his authority as best he could. It was not so much the law itself that limited the king, but the increasing strength of the legislature.

Therefore, we cannot be surprised if the legalists, studying only court records, concluded that the king's prerogative remained untouched and untouchable. For the attack was being made not upon the royal powers themselves, but upon the king's right to exercise them free of the influence of the increasingly wealthy and increasingly aggressive classes represented in the House of Commons. And it is hardly surprising that we see the old discussion of the king and the law now giving way before a new interest in the king and the legislature.

Some commentators were eager to show that Parliament had always occupied a position of great influence and importance in England's government. William Petyt lists page after page of instances in which early kings called Parliaments for consultation and advice. He emphasizes the often disputed idea that the houses of Parliament could claim a tradition as long and illustrious as monarchy itself and an influence and an importance not only as advisers to the king, but also as representatives in the legal process of property

ence to it, one pamphleteer stated: "I must observe to you, that these Anti-Monarchical and Seditious Doctrines have come so thick into the world by the Midwivry of a certain Speech, which was made five years before, and which was Father'd upon a Noble Peer." (*The Apostate Protestant—a Letter to a Friend occasioned by the late reprinting of a Jesuites Book About succession to the Crown of England, pretended to have been written by R. Doleman* [London, 1682].)

and subject right.⁵⁹ Now writers explored the parliamentarians' dual responsibility, to the king and to the country at large. One writer described the member of Parliament as both a patriot and a subject. In the one capacity, the pamphleteer points out:

the country is his object, his duty being to vindicate the publick liberty, to make wholesome laws, to put his hand to the pump, and stop the leaks in the great vessel of state; to pry into, and punish corruption and oppression: to improve and advance trade; to have the grievances of the place he serves redressed, and cast about how to find something that may tend to the advantage of it.⁶⁰

But as a subject, the member of Parliament must also:

apply himself to do his sovereign's business, to provide not only for his publick but his personal wants, to bear up the lustre and glory of his court, to consider what occasions of extra-ordinary expense he may have . . . to consult what may enlarge his honour, contentment, and pleasure.⁶¹

Shaftesbury emphasized the first set of duties and saw parliamentarians only as the guardians and representatives of the people's interests.⁶² During the course of debates on the various place bills introduced during Charles's reign, however, other members of Parliament had defended the right of the king to assume that any subject, in Parliament or not, would consider it his personal duty to serve the king and the king's government.⁶³ But Sir William Temple, in advocating his Council plan, had said, with reason, that he feared that the Shaftesbury group's emphasis upon factional loyalties would make it impossible for members to serve king and country equally. It is interesting to note that even the eminent royalist had abandoned the old identification of royal and national interests and apparently adopted the popular contemporary opinion that Parliament, though elected by so few, better represented the people than any monarch could.

Whether the Commons and Lords possessed the right in themselves to be consulted as representatives of the people, or whether, as staunch conservative

⁵⁹ See William Petyt, *Miscellanea Parliamentaria: containing Presidents 1. of freedom from arrests. 2. Of censures . . . With an appendix, containing several instances wherein the kings of England have consulted and advised with their Parliaments* (London, 1680), Appendix 9; see also Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, 103; "Vox Populi," 219-20.

⁶⁰ James Howell, "The Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament" (1677), reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, I, 149. Howell (1594-1666), educated at Oxford, held minor posts under James I, Charles I, and Charles II, but also, during the interregnum, sought the favor of Oliver Cromwell. He was "one of the earliest Englishmen who made a livelihood out of literature," writing letters and pamphlets. (*DNB*, X, 109-14.)

⁶¹ Howell, "Pre-eminence and Pedigree of Parliament," 149.

⁶² See "Some Observations concerning the regulating of Elections for Parliament, found among the Earl of Shaftesbury's Papers after his Death and now recommended to the Consideration of this Present Parliament" (1689), reprinted in *A Second Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts . . . of the late Lord Somers*, I, 63-72; see also Philip A. Gibbons, *Ideas of Political Representation in Parliament* (Oxford, Eng., 1914).

⁶³ See *Faithfull Register*, 302; *Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 1267.

William Assheton maintained, they held their authority "to meet and sit and debate as a Parliament . . . solely from the King, and not from themselves or from the People," was still an intriguing though no longer really a vital or even relevant question.⁶⁴ For in fact, though royalists could soundly disagree with those who "shall affirm, That the Parliament hath a Coercive Power over the Person of the King," Charles, as prince of Wales and as king, had become himself all too familiar with the determination and power of the houses of Parliament.⁶⁵

Though experience and necessity had taught King Charles that in order to defend his position he must substitute power within Parliament for his diminishing controls over the houses, writers hesitated to place the royal role in Parliament on a basis of equality with those of the two houses.⁶⁶ To most, the king was considerably more than a Third Estate in Parliament. Robert Sheringham believed that the king possessed a certain authority that he could delegate to no one, and Nalson agreed that the king must be apart from the rest of the body politic, for his powers were of a quality different from those of his subjects.⁶⁷ Even Sidney admitted that the king, in council, could correct the errors of Parliament. Neville maintained, however, that this peculiarly royal authority was only for the purpose of putting "in Execution the Common Law and the Statutes made by the Sovereign Power."⁶⁸ Though Neville would not deny the extraordinary quality of the king's powers, he placed them in a position not of supremacy, but of service to the sovereignty of Parliament.

In keeping with the spirit of Neville's belief, Sidney, though accepting the double Roman and Saxon tradition that justice can be best served through placing supreme authority in the king and council, made the common-sense observation that "a weak or wicked prince can never have a wise council, nor receive any benefit by one that is impos'd upon him." For, as Sidney explained, "Good and wise counsellors do not grow up like mushrooms; great judgment is required in chusing and preparing them."⁶⁹ Sidney thought that

⁶⁴ [William Assheton,] *The Royal Apology: or an Answer to the Rebels Plea* . . . (London, 1684), 14.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 58, 16. In Parliament Sir Robert Howard said: "It is a strange question to dispute what prerogative is, when all statutes make it so sacred a thing. The king says 'it is legal, and he will stick to it'; and we say, 'it is not legal, and he shall not.'" (*Parliamentary History*, ed. Cobbett, IV, 524.) The reference is to the King's Declaration of Indulgence.

⁶⁶ Assheton, *Royal Apology*, 16; see also Nalson, *King's Prerogative*, 14.

⁶⁷ Robert Sheringham, *The King's Supremacy Asserted: or a Remonstrance of the King's Right Against the Pretended Parliament* (London, 1682), 64.

⁶⁸ Neville, *Plato Redivivus*, 121. Even Assheton admitted: "The Kings of England have more Power and Capacity in Parliament than out of Parliament." (*Royal Apology*, 37; for Sidney's opinion, see *Discourses*, III, 376.)

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 324.

in this case again the natural character of the king, whose personal choice, after all, largely determined the membership of his advisory council, could not always be relied upon to perform this duty in the best public interest. If the natural could not be separated from the politic, then, felt Sidney, "Many eyes see more than one; the collected wisdom of a people much surpasses that of a single person," even though he be king.⁷⁰ Royalist Nalson agreed that a king could not legitimately "disassent to publick and necessary Bills for the Common Good," though he was less willing than Sidney to accept a majority vote in Parliament as the final judgment of "Common Good."⁷¹ To Nalson's hesitancy in allowing the people's representatives to determine their own best interests, and to defend their judgment against royal opposition, Sidney only asked simply, "why is it a more desperate opinion to think the king should be subject to the censures of the people, than the people subject to the will of the king?"⁷²

To present-day observers and to many of Sidney's contemporaries, it was evident that only one answer was possible. Throughout Charles's reign, parliamentarians had made clear that they possessed the power and ambition, though not yet the organization, to compel the king to heed their demand for influence. Charles, an able politician himself, had recognized the elements of weakness as well as those of strength in his own position, defending certain points, and on others giving way gracefully before Parliament's attacks and, after 1681, mounting his own counterattack. Until 1679, however, parliamentarians had never pressed their claims beyond that point which would have required clear submission of royal authority to parliamentary supremacy. During the course of the succession controversy it became quite clear that temporary adjustment could not long suffice and that Parliament would again strike at the bases of royal power. The old ideas of monarchy were under attack, in theory as well as in practice; commentators and parliamentarians alike anticipated, not without considerable apprehension, the inevitable day when the issues raised in the Exclusion crisis should move out of the realm of possibility and become practical, immediate, and real. It is perhaps fortunate that Charles himself lived to rule for some years after 1681 and that these difficult and serious questions that James's succession, and then the birth of his son, were to raise, and that the exclusionists so feared, remained

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 74. Sidney also makes the interesting point, in favor of parliamentary supremacy, that "they may make prejudicial wars, ignominious treaties, and unjust laws; yet when the session is ended, they must bear the burden as much as others." (*Ibid.*, 369.)

⁷¹ Nalson, *King's Prerogative*, 15. For, in Nalson's view, "the Major part in either of the Houses for passing Bills so pretended, may be but one or two voices or very few; and perhaps of no Judicious men."

⁷² Sidney, *Discourses*, I, 316-17.

for nearly half a decade merely a threatening possibility. Hence, theorists of every sort found themselves with an opportunity to argue and discuss in detailed terms and leisurely manner the important questions facing Englishmen. Freed from pressing necessity, commentators could try and test concepts; colleagues and opponents could reflect upon each other's arguments. Imagination, experience, and considered thought—the best that England could offer—were brought to bear upon the major crisis that England faced. And when, in 1688, the crisis became immediate, the lines of argument had long been drawn, the possibilities and dangers explored, and the outlines of a new theory of monarchy established. Parliamentarians had only to carry out in practical terms the decisions to which theory and comment had already pointed the way.

Patterns of Industrial Strike Activity in France during the July Monarchy

PETER N. STEARNS*

DURING the Restoration and July Monarchy, factory workers and artisans formed fairly distinct groups. Their methods and places of work differed, obviously. Instead of the small shops and manually operated tools of the artisan, relatively large plants with relatively complex machinery surrounded the factory worker. More important, artisans, particularly in the cities, had far firmer traditions, including many traditions of mutual organization and protection, than did the factory workers. There were, to be sure, many artisans of peasant origin filling expanding cities such as Paris, but even the newcomers encountered a large nucleus of established artisans, accustomed to the city and to the work, who helped educate them in the ways of their new life. In contrast, factory workers for the most part had no traditions and no traditional elements to direct them when they entered a new plant, often fresh from the countryside. Their standards of living might differ little from those of urban artisans, but their behavior necessarily differed considerably. Among the many areas of activity where such differences prevailed was that of agitation and strikes. The simple fact was that most of the strike activity of the period, both in quantity and quality, was conducted by urban artisans. For very good reasons, most factory workers protested their lot collectively far less often and, usually, in different ways than did their brethren in the crafts. It is, then, misleading to discuss "the workers" in a study of labor movements in the early years of French industrialization. Such a discussion obscures the bases of the agitation that did take place, and, equally important, it prevents an understanding of the conditions that would later allow the development of strike activity among factory workers. This essay concentrates on sectors of manufacturing labor directly affected by mechanization. By implication it shows many of the factors separating these workers from the urban artisans. It does not, however, discuss the labor movement as a whole because such a single movement really did not exist. The experience of artisans

Always?

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was, at this time, largely irrelevant to factory workers. Only by separating the two classes can the activities of either be properly understood.

Any student of the factory worker in the first decades of French industrialization is struck by an obvious if superficial anomaly. In the midst of conditions of such misery that extreme and frequent protest might be expected, the French industrial worker was almost totally quiescent. Certainly the factors favorable to strikes and other forms of industrial agitation were numerous. In the first place, challenges to the social order had a clear precedent in the traditions of the Great Revolution and even in the events of 1830. Furthermore, the increase in numbers of industrial workers provided a greater quantitative opportunity for strikes to occur; in some fields, such as mining, the labor force actually doubled in the period, though usually the increase was not so great. Growing concentration of industry around certain urban centers also facilitated contacts among workers and was a potential spur to organization. Most important, the workers had ample cause for complaint. In a period when the wealth of the middle classes was increasing noticeably, the lot of most factory labor remained stagnant and depressing. In the plant, the worker was kept under the discipline of both machine and foreman for thirteen hours or more a day. The rewards of this labor were meager. Some workers, in fact, did not earn enough to subsist without charity. The majority could pay for bread, a few clothes, and a tiny apartment, but little or nothing remained after these were provided. Illness, and industrial crisis, or even old age might lower this minimal standard of living still further. Yet, in this period, when industrial conditions were at their worst, protests by factory labor were almost nonexistent.¹

This is not to say, of course, that there was no strike activity by industrial workers. Jean-Pierre Aguet, in his description of strikes during the July Monarchy, has counted 98 strikes by workers who might be called industrial.² Actually, consideration of local reports of agitation reveals a number of strikes not recorded in Aguet's count; at least 40 additional cases can be added to the

¹ For descriptions of labor conditions in general, see L. R. Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral des ouvriers employés dans les manufactures de coton, de laine, et de soie* (2 vols., Paris, 1840), and André Lasserre, *La Situation des ouvriers de l'industrie textile dans la région lilloise sous la Monarchie de Juillet* (Lausanne, 1952).

² Jean-Pierre Aguet, *Contributions à l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier français: Les grèves sous la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-1847)* (Geneva, 1954). This is a useful narrative account of all strike activity as reported to the government in Paris. As a supplement to Aguet, and to the BB³⁸ series of the Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN] that he employed, the most fruitful sources are the Series M in departmental archives, plus scattered references in economic journals such as the *Moniteur industriel* and in records such as the Archives de la Compagnie des Fondries et Forges d'Alais [hereafter cited as ACF] and the Archives des Établissements Haussman à Logelbach [hereafter cited as AEH].

list as a result of this information, and quite possibly that many more could yet be found by diligent searching. Nevertheless, even a total count of 130 or 150 industrial strikes results in an average of only 7 or 8 a year. And analysis of what is usually included in the category "industrial" detracts even further from the impact of the figures. Aguet, for example, quite sensibly includes in his category mining, metallurgy, machine building, and textiles—all industries affected by the new mechanical methods and organized in part at least in a factory system of production. Of the industries in the group, however, textiles provided the largest number of strikes (82 in Aguet's count). But the textile industry was incompletely transformed by modern industrial methods and systems. To be sure, cotton and wool spinning were vastly altered, but weaving was still largely done by hand, and whole areas of production, such as silk and ribbons, were untouched either by power machinery or by factories. Such industries, particularly the silk manufacturing of Lyons, were among the most productive of strikes; furthermore, their strikes were unusually forceful and well organized. Even aside from such well-known cases, a high percentage of textile strikes were conducted by workers, particularly weavers, who produced either at home or in very small shops. In fact, of the 128 industrial strikes that I have been able to count, 51 of them were conducted by domestic or small shop labor. Actual factory labor was engaging in merely 4 or 5 strikes a year on the average. This paucity is particularly startling because labor as a whole, including artisans, was definitely increasing its activity during the July Monarchy. Aguet has counted 284 strikes by artisans and construction workers, virtually three times the number produced by the industrial categories. To be sure, artisans outnumbered industrial workers, even broadly construed, possibly by as much as two to one; nevertheless, it is clear that industrial labor was not keeping pace with its brethren in the crafts. Both on the basis of absolute numbers of strikes and of relative activity, the sluggishness of industrial labor is clear.³

The nature of most industrial strikes, moreover, demonstrates still further the ineffectiveness of factory workers at the time. In the first place, few strikes boasted any real organization or planning; they were usually spontaneous responses to an immediate subject of discontent. Often they were conceived in a tavern the evening before, or even on the same morning as they took place. There was no real leadership, no funds to support the effort. As a result, it was rare for a strike to last more than a single day. In Lille, for

³ Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 365; Henri Sée, *La Vie économique de la France, 1789-1914* (Paris, 1927), 87; Edgard Allix, *La Concentration industrielle et son influence sur le sort des classes ouvrières* (Paris, 1909), 54-55.

example, during the crisis year 1837, workers on short time had the habit of attending band concerts in the late afternoon; one afternoon they replaced the concert with a riot—and that was the extent of Lille's labor agitation that year. In 1838 the thread piecers in Cateau-Cambrésis were incited by some spinners not to work on Ash Wednesday; they spent all day in a bar and then rioted around closing time. Strikes of this sort served mainly to vent a complaint for the satisfaction of the strikers themselves. They could not be the vehicles of a prolonged or intensive effort. In addition, they could not hope to attract large numbers. Without planning or organization, many strikes did not go beyond a single plant. Usually strikers in one plant would attempt to arouse their colleagues in neighboring factories, and sometimes they would succeed. But even in a major industrial city such as Lille, worker demonstrations never boasted more than three or four hundred participants; most strikes affected only a few dozen workers. The average strike was brief, small, disorganized, and lacked formal leadership.⁴

It is obvious that workers were in no position to sustain any elaborate links with their fellows in other places. To be sure, workers in Thann sometimes imitated riots by workers in Mulhouse; workers in Bédarieux had even more active contacts with their neighbors in Lodève. And there were reports of some general awareness of the major riots in Lyons and Paris. But seldom did any action result, and almost never was any coherent contact maintained. What initiative there was came from the individual town or city, often even from the individual factory.⁵

Methods employed by strikers naturally reflected the lack of planning and real strength. Labor protests usually took one of two courses. The first was an appeal to the authorities, usually the local government but sometimes the employer himself. A group of workers would abandon the plant, march to city hall, and present a verbal petition. A soothing speech from the mayor, urging patience and resignation, would calm all passions, and the workers would disperse in an orderly manner. This was the pattern of most labor agitation in Tourcoing during the depression year 1847. Workers there, and often elsewhere, were simply too resigned to do more than briefly demonstrate in the hope that some higher power would solve their problems. When the

⁴ AN BB¹⁸1220, report from Louviers, Nov. 1833; *ibid.*, 1245, Lille report, May 1837; *ibid.*, 1389, report on Hardingham miners, Jan. 1841; Archives départementales [hereafter cited as AD] du Nord, M620-6, Cateau-Cambrésis report, 1836; Charles Engrand, "Les Ouvriers lillois de 1829 à 1832," unpublished thesis, Faculté des Lettres, Université de Lille, 1957, 147.

⁵ Édouard Dolléans and Gérard Déhove, *Histoire du travail en France: Mouvement ouvrier et législation sociale* (2 vols., Paris, 1953-55), I, 210; Marie-Madeleine Kahan-Rabecq, "L'Importance de la classe ouvrière alsacienne en 1848," in *Deux siècles d'Alsace-française*, 1648-1848 (Strasbourg, 1948), 409, 414; Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 341; AD, Haut-Rhin, 1M126-1, 1831 report.

higher power refused, they had no other recourse. Often, however, workers went beyond the humble petition or did not attempt it at all. In such cases, a strike usually involved considerable violence against property. Frequently the windows of the employer's home or of the factory would bear the brunt of the anger. In Elbeuf in 1846, employees of a man who had introduced a new wool-cleaning machine massed around his home, shouting threats and breaking windows; troops were required to break up the riot. But the attack could focus on machines or on bakers' shops as well. No matter what the target, the pattern was usually the same: an hour or two of intense violence, and then the strike would be over. Again, there was no possibility of constructive or prolonged strike action. At best, it could be hoped that a show of wrath would induce concessions out of fear. But usually the thinking of strikers did not seem to go this far. The strike, with its violence, was an expression of pent-up emotion and hostility; it was not a tool to achieve lasting improvements in conditions. Once passions found expression in an hour or two of howling riot, and were perhaps calmed by a certain amount of fatigue, there was nothing left of the strike.⁶

Seldom did striking factory workers have any long-range goals in mind. Here again, the basic weakness and inadequacy of industrial agitation in the period were reflected. Workers generally struck for a single purpose only; they could not formulate a series of demands. More important, they were seldom capable of envisaging long-range improvement in their conditions. As a result, most industrial strikes were protests against some immediate change in the workers' situation. In most cases, strikes were called solely to protest a lowering of pay, and all that was usually demanded was a return to the previous level. A reduction of wages provided a definite issue and a definite purpose. Further, the announcement of reduction was the sort of clear-cut, single event against which grievance could be most easily directed, particularly since the announcement usually found workers assembled or assembling for work. Most strikes, then, took place immediately upon workers' hearing the news of a pay cut, or within the next twenty-four hours, after a night of rising excitement and hasty planning. Characteristically, spinners in Dornach in 1830 walked out as a result of an announcement of salary reduction, which was made in particularly unsympathetic terms; in 1847, wool spinners of the Ménéage plant in Elbeuf struck the day after a similar announcement.⁷

In a smaller number of cases, other changes provided the goals for some

⁶ Lasserre, *Situation des ouvriers*, 222; Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 11; AN BB¹⁸1442, report from Elbeuf, May 23, 1846.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 1192, report on Dornach, 1830; *ibid.*, 1456, report on Elbeuf, Oct. 1847.

strikes. Often, agitation focused on a rise in food prices, the introduction of machines, or rising unemployment. Sometimes even changes in systems of work that had no particularly adverse effect on workers would give rise to strike. Again, change was the only phenomenon clear enough to rouse factory labor, however rarely, from its lethargy. Industrial strikes were overwhelmingly designed simply to defend the *status quo* against deterioration. Hence most industrial strikes took place during business slumps. Then alone was change sufficiently drastic to goad apathetic workers into brief protest. In many cases the workers who struck were simply expressing the abysmal misery of unemployment and hunger. Tragically, however, a strike or riot during a crisis period was almost doomed to failure because employers had neither desire nor need to improve conditions of labor when their own profits were often being reduced or even eliminated. Only a strike in prosperous times had a real chance of effecting permanent improvements in conditions. But in prosperity industrial workers were incapable of formulating demands because there was no adverse change to provide the goal for action. In contrast, strikes of artisans increased in number during prosperous years, for many artisans could plan and organize for the future and could understand something of the economic forces under which they operated. During the boom months from September 1833 to April 1834, for example, Aguet counted fifty strikes by artisans, only nine by industrial labor—far above the ratio for the period as a whole. For factory workers, protest during relatively good times was years in the future. During the July Monarchy, they remained quiet unless given an obvious stimulus in the form of some alteration of their lot. And even then, the vast majority of pay reductions and dismissals passed by without a hint of protest from their victims.⁸

Factory labor, lacking the ability to act except under the stimulus of immediate deterioration of conditions, was not in a position to be stirred by doctrinal influences. In contrast, leaders of artisan movements, especially in Paris and Lyons, often had a definite, if hazy, ideological bent; as a result their approach was more diversified and even stronger, in the sense that it did not depend so heavily on specific economic changes. There were, of course, a number of active socialist propagandists who tried occasionally to make contact with factory workers, but they were almost always completely unsuccessful. The workers were neither ready nor able to be roused by any talk of rights or justice. What industrial protest there was lacked any support from general ideas or programs.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 1264, report on Saint-Quentin strike; AD, Nord, M626-3, report on Anzin strike, Oct. 1847; Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 123, 370, 375; Georges Créveuil, "La Condition ouvrière et la crise de 1847 à Nantes," *1848 et les révolutions du XIX^e siècle*, XXXIX (Feb. 1948), 50.

The confused quality of the sporadic industrial agitation was reflected, finally, in the lack of any consistent object of attack. Most commonly, to be sure, grievances were directed against employers. But there were several other directions that protest could take. In cases where rising prices competed with falling wages for workers' attention, bakery shops and their owners were as likely to be attacked as were the plant and its director. The only real agitation in the whole period on the part of Troyes cotton workers focused on bakers alone. There were several instances, also, of attacks on machines as the cause of misery; it was felt that destruction of machines would result in an improvement of conditions for workers generally. Hence in 1830 Lille thread twisters expressed their discontent at the unemployment and low pay that were part of the industrial crisis of that year by demonstrating against machines. Finally, there were a number of riots against other workers, particularly foreigners—another possible scapegoat for unsatisfactory conditions. In sum, the protests of factory labor in this period expressed much bitterness and generalized unhappiness. But there was no clear focus for this intense feeling, and no clear conception of what improvements could be brought about and by what methods.⁹

Thus, despite a number of factors that seemed to favor protest by industrial workers, strikes during the July Monarchy were rare and weak in almost every respect. As a result, they had almost no success in improving the workers' lot. To be sure, employers were aware that workers might riot and in some cases were mildly influenced by this awareness in the setting of labor policy. In few instances, though, did the possibility of a strike inhibit employers; for strikes were unlikely and could easily be defeated if they occurred. There were, however, a small number of strikes that ran counter to the general trend of weakness and disorganization. An unusual number of such outbreaks took place in a very few areas and industries. Any effort to understand the factors involved in protest in this period must, then, devote some attention to the exceptional efforts of a few groups of workers and to the factors that allowed such efforts.¹⁰

The criteria by which relatively strong strike action may be judged are numerous, relating to goals, organization, and frequency. Few cases approached real vigor by any standards save those of the period itself. But compared to the average, they stand out as exceptional indeed. In the first place, there were certain instances in which the purposes of labor agitation indicated some solidity and breadth of vision. In such instances, workers did not totally

⁹ André Colomès, *Ouvriers du textile dans la Champagne troyenne, 1730-1852* (Paris, 1943), 135; AD, Nord, M620-4, 1830 report.

¹⁰ J. Veneday, *Reise und Rasitage in der Normandie* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1838), II, 480.

There were other ways in which the purposes of agitation occasionally expressed greater complexity than usual. In some instances the past was used as a standard, but not in an immediate sense. Strikes occurred for restoration of past conditions, but not as the direct result of an unfavorable change. In 1840, for example, wool workers in both Lodève and Castres struck for higher pay in a period of prosperity. They sought primarily to compensate for wage declines of the previous year; they did not anticipate absolutely new wage levels. But their strikes did represent the ability to retain past standards as a goal over a relatively long period of time, rather than an instinctive reaction to change when it first occurred. Again in 1845 workers in Lodève were able to use a sense of tradition in an unusually sweeping manner. In their strike they sought a cessation of mechanization, a return of industry to domestic production, and an increase both of the number of small manufacturers and of their opportunities in the industry. Here was a list of purposes far more complex and varied than most industrial labor could have produced; it envisaged the local economic structure as a whole. The demands were totally archaic, relying completely on the past. But they clearly represented a use of past standards in more than the usual immediate and single-minded way.¹²

¹¹ AN BB¹⁸1437, report on the Compagnie générale des mines de la Loire, May 1844; *ibid.*, 1406, report on Rouen metallurgical strike, Sept. 1842.

they had ever before received. In 1837 Anzin miners similarly sought a raise not to compensate for an earlier change in conditions, but because the price of coal had risen, and they deserved to share in the greater prosperity that this rise had brought the company.¹³ In these and a few other instances (less than ten in all) workers were clearly able to seek improvements in their lot beyond what the past had offered.¹⁴

Most strikes seeking more than an immediate return of previous conditions involved not only a relatively firm sense of purpose but also a relatively advanced understanding of the bargaining position of labor. For workers who were able to strike for more than a restoration of past standards, or who could agitate on the basis of tradition without the spur of a change of conditions immediately preceding the protest, were capable of timing their action to coincide with situations favorable to success. Their strikes were more than emotional reactions; they were planned with an eye to the economic position of the industry. The Alais strike of 1831 was brought about because the miners realized that their employer was in desperate need of coal production. The wool workers of Lodève and Castres who reacted to the pay cuts of 1839 not by immediate protest but by a strike when prosperous times had returned to their industry showed a similar understanding of the economic pressures on manufacturers.¹⁵

Strikes in which goals were relatively complex and farsighted inevitably demanded better organization than did a defensive strike called in sudden anger over a specific issue. Such strikes had to be arranged in advance. Furthermore, there were instances in which even defensive strikes elicited a relatively solid organizational effort, sometimes developed after the strike began. Hence cases of interesting strike organization are somewhat more common than cases of comparative complexity of purpose. The key feature of good organization, indeed of any significant organization at all, was the attempt to set up a strike fund. Only by this means could workers hope to give their strike duration and numerical strength. In 1839 in Lille, for example, cotton workers boasted a strike fund offering twelve francs a week to every striker, though it is doubtful that this sum could have been long maintained; even so, the fund and the organizational effort behind the action as a whole allowed the strike to last five days, an unusually long time for cotton workers. In 1835 wool workers in Bédarieux used a mutual-aid group as a cover for a

¹³ ACF report, Nov. 18, 1831; AD, Nord, M626-1, July 1837, report.

¹⁴ Government officials and employers often claimed that a strike was for a pay raise, when actually it was a case of defensive reaction to a recent pay reduction. The number of truly offensive industrial strikes was very low.

¹⁵ ACF report, Nov. 18, 1831; Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 179.

strike fund sufficient to permit a three-week effort; the same device was used by Castres wool workers in 1840 and 1841. Several other textile strikes, including most of the many actions by Lodève labor, were covered by strike funds, and coal miners at Anzin and Rive-de-Gier made at least some attempt to support their agitation by a common purse.¹⁶ ✕

Organization was evident not only in financial planning, but also in coordination and tactics. Only a strike with some leadership and direction could intelligently appeal to a large number of workers. In 1847, for example, miners at Anzin planned a strike and began in advance to contact workers in other companies to increase their strength. Miners at Rive-de-Gier in 1840 and 1844 made great efforts to involve their colleagues at Saint-Étienne, with some success. Hence mining strikes both in the Nord and in the Saint-Étienne region often involved one or two thousand workers. Cases of such numbers in textile strikes were rare, though in 1833 the wool workers of Louviers managed to involve eleven hundred people in their strike. However, Lodève workers attempted far more coordination than even the coal miners. Lodève weavers maintained contacts with workers at Bédarieux, and even at Carcassonne; they occasionally managed to encourage strikes paralleling their own and also sought to dissuade labor in other areas from accepting strike-breaking employment in Lodève.

The relatively elaborate organization of miners, particularly at Rive-de-Gier, and of Lodève and Castres wool workers also permitted efforts of exceptional duration and tactical subtlety. In 1833 and again in 1845 Lodève workers managed to strike for over two months; miners in Rive-de-Gier did the same in 1844. The mining strikes at Rive-de-Gier and to an extent at Anzin displayed definite organization and control in their prevention of any particular striker violence despite great provocation and even bloodshed caused by government troops. In Castres and Lodève worker tactics also showed considerable planning. Lodève workers often struck a few key plants alone, in an effort to break employer unity and win general gains. Castres weavers, in 1840, carefully coordinated demands in all shops at once. They also managed, at least briefly, to put the most offensive plants under interdict, preventing them from acquiring labor for any purpose even after the strike had ended in most shops. Such tactics were not always successful, but they indicated both planning and intelligence on the part of their sponsors.

✕ 16 Jean-Paul Courthéoux, "Naissance d'une conscience de classe dans le prolétariat textile du Nord (1830-1870)?" *Revue économique*, XXXI (Jan. 1957), 136; AD, Hérault, 4M247, Sept. 1847, report; AD, Tarn, IVM²31-34, report on Castres, Nov. 1840. Strike funds were also reported among Vienne wool workers in 1843 (AN BB¹⁵1409) and among Roanne cotton spinners (*ibid.*, 1455, Aug. 1847, report).

In sum, certain areas on some occasions did see a real effort at coordination in industrial strikes. Exactly what form labor organization took in such cases is not known. The source and type of leadership are also unknown, though there are occasional and doubtful government reports of outside and often republican agitators at the helm. Even the duration of these organizational efforts cannot be certain. In the case of Lille in 1839, the organization obviously did not survive the strike; there were no coordinated efforts by Lille labor during the rest of the July Monarchy. The same is true of most of the textile regions, such as Vienne and Roanne, which offer one clear case of some organization. The mining regions undoubtedly had some continuing or at least repeating leadership since signs of planning appear several times. And some of the southern wool centers, such as Lodève, undoubtedly had even more continuous worker groups, often behind the façade of a mutual-aid society.¹⁷

In essence, then, there were a few cases of a single important strike effort, in terms of organization, tactics, and occasionally purpose, in a small number of regions. In even fewer areas, there was an obvious ability to mount even more important efforts repeatedly. The industrial areas in which more than one major strike was conducted in the period fall into two clear categories: the regions of large coal mines and the southern wool cities of Lodève, Bédarieux, and Castres. Lodève workers struck at least eight times in the period, often for considerable lengths of time and with a powerful organization. Miners in the Rive-de-Gier and Saint-Étienne region struck four times, and again usually with large numbers and for a relatively long time; Anzin miners struck three times and agitated again in 1847. Miners of the Grand'-Combe struck twice, and several other mines were struck importantly at least once. In contrast, there were only two or three strikes in metallurgy and machine building in this period, none of them notable. Similarly, in textiles, the great cotton city of Mulhouse saw only one small strike and a bread riot; the Nord witnessed only two textile strikes plus several bread riots. Many important manufacturing centers, such as Troyes, experienced no real strikes at all, though there was often a bread riot in 1847. To be sure, a few textile regions outside the south did see more than one or two strikes by the same type of workers. This was true, for example, in Cholet, where rural weavers struck on several occasions. But the Cholet strikes were short, disorganized, and

¹⁷ Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 106, 332, and "Les Grèves de mineurs en France sous la Monarchie de Juillet (1830-1848)," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, XXI (May 1954), 384; AN BB¹⁸1388, report on Castres, 1841; *ibid.*, 1444, report on Anzin, Feb. 1847; AD, Hérault, 4M247, Jan. 1831, and Jan. 1834 reports; E. Tarlé, "La Grande coalition des mineurs de Rive-de-Gier en 1844," *Revue historique*, CLXXVII (Mar.-Apr. 1936), 257.

caused simply by the decline of domestic weaving, and so of wages, in the area. Their relative frequency was largely a sign of a desperation greater than that of more modern textile centers. True strength of industrial labor, by the standards of the period at least, was exhibited only in the wool industry of one region and in the coal industry more generally.¹⁸

Any explanation of strike movements by factory labor must, then, cover the two aspects of protest activity. On the one hand, it must account for the infrequency and weakness of agitation by most industrial workers. At the same time, it must show why much greater labor power existed in a very few cases. Fortunately, such an explanation is possible. It can be shown that, while there were certain general factors inhibiting strike activity in all cases, there were other factors affecting much of the textile industry, and metallurgy and machine building, far more than they affected coal mining and the southern wool industry. The general factors account for the fact that labor even in the exceptional cases was badly organized and relatively lethargic. The special factors explain why a few groups of workers were able to stand out so notably compared to most industrial labor in the July Monarchy itself.

The two most obvious general factors operating against all labor activity were the attitudes and policies of government and industrialists. The national government had long held strikes to be illegal and stiffened the provisions against worker and other associations during the July Monarchy. The cabinet ministers concerned with such matters were unanimous in fearing strikes as hostile both to proper economy and to the stability of the government itself. Some officials were even more inflexible in their stance than most industrialists, and, when the latter occasionally yielded to a strike, the government could be loud in its denunciations of their weakness. To be sure, some prefects occasionally saw the justice of the strikers' demands and attempted to promote at least a compromise settlement. This occurred, for example, in a weavers' strike in Rennes in 1839; the prefect held that wages were unjustly low and induced the employers to yield.¹⁹ More commonly, however, the government reacted to a strike by sending soldiers and arresting and prosecut-

¹⁸ Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 337; Colomès, *Ouvriers du textile*, 135; Courtheoux, "Naissance d'une conscience," 136. Obviously, the silk industry of Lyons and the ribbon industry of Saint-Étienne were also areas of real labor strength according to the criteria used in this essay. The peculiar and largely artisanal organization of these industries makes it needless and confusing to include them in a study of factory workers. But it should be noted that many of the elements of labor's strength in both cities resemble those of the wool industry in the south.

¹⁹ AN BB¹⁸1263, report on Rennes, Nov. 1839; David H. Pinkney, "Laissez-Faire or Intervention? Labor Policy of the First Months of the July Monarchy," *French Historical Studies*, III (Spring 1963), 123-28.

so much for this.

ing the leading workers involved. A large number of strikes, including mining strikes and other vigorous efforts, were only broken up by troops who were perfectly willing to use arms against the strikers. A substantial number of strikers were brought to trial, and while they seldom suffered sentences of more than a year, their example was undoubtedly sufficient to intimidate many prospective strikers. In 1832, for instance, 522 workers were brought to trial, with 304 actually sentenced. Furthermore, several more general governmental policies inhibited strike action. The enforcement of the *livret* as virtually a license to obtain a job, with the possibility open to employers to withhold it in cases of bad conduct, was a powerful means of controlling worker behavior generally, though it was not universally utilized. The common effort by local governments to send away unemployed workers during slumps was another powerful deterrent to coordinated protest during the worst times. In general, government viewed workers with great distrust and acted accordingly to control and to intimidate. Though not all workers were always or equally deterred, most were powerfully influenced by the government's policies.²⁰

Even more immediate to most workers was the power exercised over them by their employers. Quite obviously, almost all employers hated and feared strikes. In their eyes, strikes were symptoms of ingratitude that could only end in worsening the workers' lot by disturbing industry. More important, manufacturers feared the effects that strikes would have on the cost and discipline of labor. They also opposed the interruption of production and the potential violence that strikes represented. Employers were, furthermore, able to implement their hostility to labor agitation. They were often instrumental in calling in troops and seeking prosecution of strikers in the courts. Even more commonly, they simply fired strike leaders, at least temporarily. Occasionally, industrialists in a city facing a generalized strike banded together to fight it, though mutual jealousy often prevented any real coordination. Industrialists in Lodève, for example, in 1845 locked out workers from plants that had not been struck. Later in the strike they even sought to bring in machines to replace the striking workers permanently. On other occasions, these and other industrialists sought to break strikes by importing scab labor. Truly, the power of industrialists, backed by government, to resist strikes and to prevent protest through their ability to intimidate, was impressive. Nothing indicates this more clearly than the fact that most strikes, and particularly industrial strikes, failed completely. Workers faced formi-

²⁰ Pierre Laroque, *Les Rapports entre patrons et ouvriers* (Paris, 1938), 67-79; Dolléans and Déhove, *Travail en France*, I, 245.

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dable odds in their protest efforts; small wonder that such efforts were so rare.²¹

Employers possessed another type of authority over many workers that undoubtedly had an effect in limiting strikes. Most industrial enterprises were still small. There were some huge firms, particularly in metallurgy and mining, but even in iron production the average company in the 1840's employed only 51 people. Spinning plants, in both wool and cotton, employed an average of 60-70 workers in the same period, while shops for weaving and other branches of textile production seldom assembled more than 30 or 40 workers. There were only 6,000 firms in France with more than 20 employees, and only 3,200 with more than 50.²² Many industrialists thus could know most of their workers and through daily relations with them could create an impression of a community of interests in the same work. A number of industrialists, particularly in the larger plants, were interested in a wide range of paternalistic efforts to assist their workers. Company housing, health plans, and the like were fairly common. Many workers were profoundly grateful for these and other efforts and felt a genuine devotion to their employer; sincere expressions of grief by workers at the death of many industrialists was a sign of this sort of feeling. To be sure, many workers, even those who never actively protested, did not feel kindly toward their employer. And some of the most paternalistic companies, such as the big mines, had the worst strike records. However, as one factor among many, employer paternalism, often partially adopted to prevent disorder, undoubtedly helped to turn many workers away from agitation. The exceptionally low strike record of the big metallurgical firms, and the textile firms of the Haut-Rhin, may well have been partially caused by the exceptional interest that the industrialists took in their labor force.²³

Though both government and employers were important in keeping the level of strikes low, they cannot be regarded as the only factors involved. After all, their power bore on artisans as well as factory workers, but the former managed to agitate far more frequently and with greater organization. Their hostility was just as great during most of the Second Empire as during the July Monarchy, but the pace of labor activity was increased notably. Obviously, some more specific factors must be sought.

²¹ AEH, Jan. 30, 1843, report; Manuel, "Machines en France," 359; Aguet, *Mouvement ouvrier*, 65 et passim.

²² Ministère de l'agriculture et du commerce, *Statistique de la France: Industrie* (4 vols., Paris, 1847-52), passim; M. A. Moreau de Jonnès, *Statistique de l'industrie de la France* (Paris, 1856), passim; Eugène Flachat et al., *Traité de la fabrication du fer et de la fonte* (Paris, 1842), 73-86.

²³ Engrand, "Ouvriers lillois," 47; Courtheoux, "Naissance d'une conscience," 122.

The condition of industry during the July Monarchy was an important deterrent to strike activity, particularly of a constructive or offensive variety. A successful strike, winning permanent improvements in conditions, could take place only in a period of prosperity. Only then would industrialists be anxious to continue production in order to take advantage of steady or rising business levels. Only then would they be likely to have a sufficient profit margin to afford, albeit grudgingly, some concessions to their workers. During the July Monarchy a large number of industrial areas were not prosperous. Many of the older regions, such as Cholet, were being bitterly pressed by competition from modern factories. Even such centers as Rheims and Louviers, while able to bear up under competition, were too backward in methods to enjoy extensive prosperity. Workers in these regions might strike, and occasionally did out of desperation, but their protests would be in vain, and usually they would not bother to try.²⁴

In the more modern centers, such as Mulhouse and Lille, levels of prosperity were of course far higher. But this advantage was modified by the fact that prosperity was not steady. Excessive competition, leading to overproduction on occasion, caused five years of major slumps and a number of other lesser declines during the eighteen years of the July Monarchy. The instability of the economy affected industrialists and workers alike. Industrialists even in a boom year were unlikely to relax their hostility to strikes because concessions might weaken their position when the apparently inevitable slump occurred. Workers, for their part, were discouraged from developing any expectations of real improvement in the future, from developing any long-range plans at all, by the knowledge that a crisis would come to wipe away any advance. Thus the textile industry particularly, in which most industrial workers were engaged, was dominated by a mixture of decline and instability—an important factor in discouraging more than occasional and halfhearted protest efforts.²⁵

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The conditions of industry were, however, less important in inhibiting strike activity than were three related aspects of the conditions of workers themselves. In the first place, a number of potential worker leaders were being drained off into the ranks of industrialists or foremen. This early industrial period was still sufficiently open, particularly in the production of textiles, to enable an exceptionally active worker to set up on his own without too much difficulty. The number who actually did so was relatively small, but if they had not had this outlet they might well have turned their ener-

²⁴ AN BB¹⁸1388, report on Castres, 1841; Arthur L. Dunham, *The Industrial Revolution in France, 1815-1848* (New York, 1955), *passim*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*; Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral*, I, *passim*.

gies to their own class. And the number of workers recruited as foremen and top-grade workers, while obviously a minority of the whole, was quite large, particularly since the general lack of training and discipline required an unusually large number of supervisors. The larger textile factories, for example, used at least one foreman for each room in the plant; furthermore, workers such as top-grade spinners and miners were given supervisory functions. Foremen and top workers alike were encouraged to represent the interests of management and were distinguished from ordinary workers by salaries at least triple the average in the firm. Finally, a number of workers beyond even those who had risen believed in the possibility of their own rise to at least lower-middle-class ranks and were correspondingly disinterested in specifically worker efforts.²⁶ Hence many worker groups were deprived of their natural leaders and could not organize or act. And many of the strikes that did occur were essentially leaderless and unplanned. To be sure, the upper echelons of the labor force did not necessarily share the interests of management. In many cases, relatively well-paid and experienced workers such as spinners took the lead in agitation. But there is no record of any involvement of foremen in labor protest, except on occasions when they resisted it out of loyalty to their employers. And in general the opportunity of rising in the industrial hierarchy undoubtedly impeded any sense of labor solidarity on the part of many able workers. In fact, some of the scant agitation that occurred was incited and led by teenagers, who were of course abundantly employed in industry at the time. Several coal strikes were instigated by young coal haulers, rather than the miners themselves. Agitation among textile workers, as in Lille in 1837, was often led by apprentice spinners. In other words, the energy of youth was sometimes substituted for the experience and possible wisdom which, in the person of active, intelligent, and mature workers, were frequently drained away into other pursuits.²⁷

Even more important than a partial absence of potential leadership was the fact that almost all workers were too poor and too busy to strike often, or for more than a day or two, or even to strike at all. Most laborers in the textile industry worked thirteen hours a day and were in the plant fourteen or fifteen hours. Metallurgical workers seldom worked more than twelve hours, and miners sometimes worked still less, but the labor was physically harder. With such hours, it was unlikely that many workers had the energy to plan a strike; further, so much time spent under the supervision of foremen and employers was another deterrent to the possibility of real organization. This

²⁶ Charles Noiret, *Mémoires d'un ouvrier rouennais* (Rouen, 1836), *passim*; Oger, *Traité élémentaire de la filature du coton* (Mulhouse, 1839), *passim*.

²⁷ AD, Nord, M616-2, 1837 report; AD, Loire, 92M4, report on coal miners' strike, 1844.

is undoubtedly one of the principal reasons that the majority of industrial strikes were defensive, unplanned reactions to a specific event.

But the material circumstances of most workers made even this type of strike a risky matter. Even aside from the possibility of losing a job as a result of a strike, most workers could ill afford to lose even a day's pay. Their wages were simply not sufficiently above subsistence needs. Though many urban factory workers earned a bit more than was absolutely necessary to live, they were unable to amass enough savings to carry them for more than two or three days without either work or charity. Few workers had any savings. The average laboring family in 1848, in the unlikely event that illness or unemployment did not limit the employment of either man or wife to less than an entire year, earned 765 francs. Three hundred francs of this went for bread, another 100 or 200 for other food; 150 for rent, heat, and a few furnishings; another hundred for clothes. This was life above the subsistence level, but with no frills and no margin of safety. Certainly there was little chance in this situation to strike for positive improvements in conditions because the risk of failure was great, and the result would simply be precious days of income lost. Only to prevent a worsening of income might a short and passionate protest be launched. During crises, desperation at the prospect of a wage reduction or of unemployment could induce some workers to forget their normal caution. Anger had to be vented, despite the risk of loss of pay. But strikes of this sort were almost invariably brief, again because no prolonged protest could be afforded. And most workers did not strike at all even during crises; rather, they clung tenaciously to what jobs and pay they had. In fact, much of the agitation during crises came not in the form of strikes, but of riots. And in the riots unemployed workers commonly took a prominent role for they had little to lose. A riot by men either without jobs or on short time was, for example, the only agitation by labor in Lille during the crisis of 1837. Workers who had jobs generally kept at them in good times and bad for survival depended on earning without fail.²⁸

Obviously, not all industrial employees were in the same material situation as was the average worker. Some earned more and had correspondingly more margin. There is evidence that, other things being equal, such workers were more likely to strike. In certain areas, such as both Mulhouse and Lille,

²⁸ E. Vuillemin, *Les Mines de houille d'Aniche* (Paris, 1878), 250; Charles Beaugé, "Évaluation rétrospective des dépenses et des salaires de la classe ouvrière en France en 1840," *Journal des économistes*, LXXVII (Mar. 1924), 361; Jean Fourastié, *Machinisme et bien-être* (Paris, 1951), 42-47; Comité de l'Association formée à Mulhouse pour la défense du travail national, *Réponses aux questions de l'enquête industrielle ordonnée par l'Assemblée nationale* (Mulhouse, 1848), 9; Émile Levasseur, *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France de 1789 à 1870* (2 vols., Paris, 1903-1904), II, 274.

it was pointed out that the best-paid workers generally led what strikes and agitation as did occur. For similar reasons, spinners in cities were more likely to strike than weavers because they earned more. The strikes by miners in the Saint-Étienne region were far better organized and of longer duration than those of Anzin, largely because Saint-Étienne miners earned over half again as much as their counterparts in Anzin. Lille cotton workers conducted a relatively well-organized strike in 1839, a year of high bread prices but also of high employment; there was reason for complaint, but also some margin to allow the risk of complaint. In the far more severe crisis of 1831-1832, when there was no margin at all, Lille workers were quiescent; in 1846-1847, they risked only a brief bread riot. It is indisputable, then, that the low levels of average conditions prevented strikes, and that most strikes aside from brief expressions of misery involved workers enjoying conditions above the average.²⁹

Material conditions, however, are not the magic key to an explanation of strike activity in the period. It is impossible to correlate agitation with income levels in any consistent way, even leaving aside the misery riot of a crisis year or a particularly poor area. For the fact is that the best-paid group of industrial workers, those in metallurgy and machine building, almost never struck. Their incomes averaged almost twice the level of industrial pay for adult males; they undoubtedly had the means to strike, but they did not choose to do so. Relatively high income was necessary for a vigorous strike, but its possession was no guarantee that the vigor was present. One final general factor must be sought.

Most industrial workers were new to their jobs, to their urban environment, and to each other. In the most modern industrial centers, the very areas in which standards of living for labor were likely to be above average, the vast majority of workers were of first or at most second generation even in 1848. Even in older centers such as Lille much of the factory labor was new not only to the plant but also to the city. Most of the new work force was ignorant; their literacy rates were far lower than those of native urban populations. In Mulhouse in the 1840's almost three-quarters of the illiterates had been born outside the city. In Lille in 1848 only a tenth of the workers were literate, though many more had had a brief educational experience. Many of the new workers were also unusually impoverished and unhealthy when they entered the factory labor force. Thus they were cut off from much possibility of intelligent protest not only by their lack of education but also

²⁹ Aguet, "Grèves de mineurs," 380; Lasserre, *Situation des ouvriers*, 96; AD, Marne, 186M5, Apr. 1837, report.

Workers with no alternatives

often by physical weakness. But most of all they were confused. Their traditions were those of the countryside, which no longer had much meaning for them. In some cases they may have retained peasant habits of resignation. This was fortified, for those who attended church, by constant recommendations of patience and orderliness. It was further fortified by the fact that conditions of factory labor, in terms of income, hours, and the like, represented little deterioration and often positive improvement when compared to conditions in the countryside.³⁰

What was most upsetting to the new workers was the change in their psychological environment. The older norms of marriage and family, of religion, and of recreation had less meaning in the factory city. The new and rapid pace of work, the discipline of the factory, the strangeness of the people, and the fact that the members of a family now usually worked apart were far more disturbing than bad food or inadequate clothes. But it was terribly hard to express complaints about such matters. There was no tradition to fall back on, and the people from the country had relied on tradition. There was little motivation to join forces with strangers, who happened to be fellow workers, since the presence of such strangers was one of the newest aspects of factory life. The habit of a substantial minority of workers to return to the country occasionally, especially at harvesttime or during crises, further impeded adjustment to urban conditions and joint action to protest the difficulties of the new life. And there was little chance even fully to realize what the trouble was, since the novelty of the situation was so great. Hence the considerable discontent that undoubtedly existed in the period was expressed primarily in individual ways; the heavy consumption of alcohol, the decline of religious practice, and the increase in crimes against property, including thefts in the plant, were the most important forms of protest. Of necessity, they were individual forms, thus precluding much effort at cooperative action. Many strikes were born or ended in a bar; far more were drowned there. The individual disorientation of a substantial number of the early industrial workers was the final factor inhibiting vigorous strike activity.³¹ These workers often felt themselves debased. They lacked the moral energy to rise in protest. Fundamentally apathetic, they relieved any resentment

³⁰ Raymond Oberlé, "Étude sur l'analphabétisme à Mulhouse au siècle de l'industrialisation," *Bulletin du Musée historique de Mulhouse*, LXVII (1959), 105; Courtheoux, "Naissance d'une conscience," 124; Marie-Madeleine Kahan-Rabecq, *La Classe ouvrière en Alsace pendant le Monarchie de Juillet* (Paris, 1939), 402.

³¹ Villermé, *Tableau de l'état physique et moral*, I, 86, 292; Armand Audiganne, *Les Populations ouvrières et les industries dans le mouvement social du XIX^e siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1854), I, 93; H. A. Frégier, *Des Classes dangereuses de la population dans les grandes villes, et des moyens de les rendre meilleures* (2 vols., Paris, 1840), I, 34, 284.

they clearly felt by an occasional bout at the tavern. Beyond this, workers could not think: "When we grow old, the hospital will receive us, or we'll die, and then everything will be over."³²

A large number of workers had simply lost their accustomed standards and had not found anything to replace them. At most, they attempted to apply some of the canons of rural life to their new situation. This is why so much worker agitation in the newest industrial centers is indistinguishable from peasant riots. In Mulhouse in 1847, in Lille in 1830 and 1847, and in many other regions, the appalling conditions of the industrial slump were protested not by a strike, but by an attack on the bakers. As in peasant agitation, the most immediate apparent villain was attacked, often violently, as the only response to unexpected misery. In fact, the same type of bread riots occurred in a number of rural areas during 1847. The many industrial areas that had little or no worker agitation beyond an attack on food merchants during a famine year were simply areas in which the worker continued at best to apply peasantlike responses to cases of outright hunger. When so clear a grievance was not presented, the worker had no standards to follow. Further, his environment was so different from the rural that even many periods of real misery passed without response.³³

In addition, then, to the pressure of government and employers, subsistence conditions and the newness of the situation inhibited active labor protest. In the case of most textile centers, these factors were supplemented by the fact that a large minority of the working force was composed of women and children. Both were, naturally, more docile than male workers—one of the reasons for their wide use. Only a few regions escaped the multiple burdens of poverty and disorientation. Metallurgical workers, of course, were not poor; nor were they hampered by many women and children in their ranks. Their industry was far more consistently prosperous than the textile industry, though it had its crises, particularly prior to the building of railroads. Most important, however, was the fact that metallurgical workers were new to their situation for the most part. The most experienced workers were often foreigners, usually British, and were highly paid. They had little contact with most of the new labor. Even so, one of the few metallurgical strikes on record was led by experienced British workers. Aside from the British, skilled workers were either brought in from a number of different parts of France or were newly trained locals. Neither group had sufficient roots in the new situation to feel particularly clear about its needs and

³² J. P. A. Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Le Livre des affligés ou douleurs et consolations* (3 vols., Paris, 1841), II, 28 (statement by a Lille worker).

³³ AD, Nord, M616-3, 1846 report.

strengths. And the unskilled labor that composed over half the work force in new centers like Le Creusot was brought in from the local peasantry. These workers, far more highly paid than ever before in their experience, lacked any real sense of being workers and any grievances that could be expressed in collective protest. In metallurgy there was neither the need for hunger riots or defensive strikes, given the relatively good conditions, nor the experience and orientation necessary for constructive strikes.³⁴

There remained coal mining and some of the major southern textile centers, notably Lodève and Castres. Not all the southern centers were involved in intensive strike activity. Carcassonne workers were too poor to strike. Workers in Mazemet, though very near Castres, were located in a new industrial center; they lacked the experience and sense of tradition of Castres and Lodève. Both the latter cities were relatively old wool centers. They brought in some new labor from the outside, but the majority of their labor force was local. This majority represented a nucleus of firm tradition of a semiartisanal nature. Hence the workers of Lodève expressed their desire to return to a purely artisanal organization; they had a memory of past standards and a tradition of craft closeness that would serve them even in a partially mechanized period. In this they differed from their colleagues in northern textile centers. At the same time, their own pay was relatively high, allowing some margin for protest activity. And their employers were engaged in an industry for which there was remarkably steady demand, though crises were not unknown. For both Lodève and Castres produced extensively for the French Army, and government orders could not be ignored, at pain of violation of contract and the loss of vital business. As the workers well knew, therefore, employers would often have to yield to strikes in order to meet definite business commitments. Finally, Lodève and Castres employed fewer women and children than was the average in textile manufacture; their hours of work were also lower by two or more, allowing more time for thought or planning. A group of relatively prosperous male workers, most of them accustomed to their work, their city, and each other, engaged in an industry that was fairly steadily prosperous; such was the formula that induced the exceptional strike activity of Lodève, Castres, and to an extent Bédarieux.³⁵

The mining industry presented many similar features. It was far more consistently prosperous than textiles or even metallurgy; hence coal prices

³⁴ Courtheoux, "Naissance d'une conscience," 122; Engrand, "Ouvriers lillois," 99; Georges Lefranc, *Histoire du travail et des travailleurs* (Paris, 1957), 273; AN BB¹⁸1406, report on Rouen, 1842.

³⁵ AD, Tarn, IVM²31-34, 1845 report; Manuel, "Machines en France," 371.

fell very little during the July Monarchy. Mineowners were often pressed with orders that they could scarcely fill; in fact, France had to import coal because its domestic production was insufficient. Several miners' strikes took place in periods when manufacturers were swamped with orders. Miners were, moreover, seldom called upon to work more than ten hours and sometimes worked only eight. Their work was, of course, far more tiring than labor in textiles or even metallurgy. But at least their waking hours were not totally devoted to work and travel to work; many miners, for example, were regularly able to spend some time gardening. Correspondingly, they had at least some time away from the job, which could be used for reflection on conditions and for actual organization. Few women and children worked in the mines. Miners earned a wage well above that of textile workers, and usually above subsistence as well. Often they could purchase some garden land; this could be a source of support in time of strike. Miners were not totally new to their work or their area. In the Saint-Étienne region particularly, while some new miners were hired during the July Monarchy, probably only a fifth of the workers in the 1840's were of first generation. At Anzin the labor force was increased by one-third during the July Monarchy, but the company dated from the eighteenth century, and at least half of the labor force consisted of families that had been associated with the company for two generations or more. So with coal mining, too, there was often a large nucleus of workers with a real sense of tradition, in a profession that had long relied heavily on such tradition. Through this tradition the extensive disorientation and confusion that weakened industrial labor generally could be avoided. Interestingly, newer mining regions such as Alais saw no strike activity comparable to that of the more traditional centers. In such regions the skilled workers were imported, and so were new to the area, whereas most of the labor force, recruited locally, was new to the trade; little real sense of tradition could exist. Finally, the mining companies most often struck were huge concerns, remote from the worker. They were less paternalistic and more often exploitative than metallurgical firms of great size. And they were often under public attack because of their size; miners both at Anzin and at Saint-Étienne operated in an atmosphere of widespread public sympathy. These specific factors were simply a further addition to situations already comparatively favorable to strike activity.³⁶

Relative prosperity, both of industry and workers, and a sense of tradition were sufficient to allow the few real industrial challenges to government and

³⁶ AN BB¹⁸ 1437, reports on the Compagnie générale des mines de la Loire, Apr. 4 and Nov. 1845; *ibid.*, C956, 1848 inquiry on the Loire; ACF, *passim*.

employers that occurred in the July Monarchy. The same factors were, of course, present in the comparatively active ranks of artisans in Paris and Lyons. They were, further, factors that were likely to become increasingly introduced in the ranks of textile and metallurgical workers as time went on. Both industries, in the more modern centers, tended to become increasingly prosperous and, in many instances, to offer rising standards of living to the workers. Both tended to decrease hours of work in the 1840's, and the textile industry curtailed its use of children in the same decade. Most important, workers in these industries increasingly developed a set of values appropriate to their new situation; they were no longer lost newcomers. Their orientation was often aided by contact with the more traditional and active worker groups. Most of the fruits of these developments were seen only after the July Monarchy had ended; they required more time than the period itself offered. Some halting advance may be seen, however, in a few areas by the 1840's. In Lille, for example, the slump around 1830 had seen only scattered agitation, led, interestingly, by the thread twisters; here a traditional, artisanal group, albeit very ill-paid, was more active than factory labor. By 1839 factory workers were capable of mounting a really organized strike, and they were far more active in the crisis of 1847 than they had been in 1830, though their vigor was certainly limited. Similarly, Mulhouse workers reacted more massively to the crisis of 1847 than to that of 1828-1830; admittedly, this may have been partly because the crisis was more severe. The most interesting case of clearly increased activity among textile workers occurred, however, in Elbeuf. This was a relatively prosperous wool center, with a new factory labor force. *2060 wool center* There was no history of agitation among the workers prior to 1846. In that year and the next, however, guided partly by agitators from Paris, the workers were in considerable ferment. They were led by the spinners, a relatively well-paid group with a long record of docility. Their action consisted of a number of strikes and riots, for the purpose of higher pay and protection against undue mechanization. Under the immediate impulse of the economic collapse, but fortified also by a generation or more of experience in industry, the workers of Elbeuf for the first time frightened both government and employers. Clearly, there is no pervasive trend of heightened worker activity in the July Monarchy itself. But there are indications that some of the causes of labor weakness were being modified, in a few areas at least.³⁷

For the July Monarchy as a whole, the impotence of industrial labor remains the outstanding fact. The few factors favoring protest action generally

³⁷ AN BB¹⁸1456, report on Elbeuf, Oct. 1847; Engrand, "Ouvriers lillois," 139.

were greatly outweighed by the vast number of inhibiting forces. Some of these forces came from outside labor itself, some from conditions within. In a few cases the confusion and poverty of workers were absent to a sufficient extent to permit unusually active and elaborate labor movements. But even the miners of Rive-de-Gier, even the workers of Lodève, were too poor to afford more than occasional and loosely organized efforts. Even they lacked a clear picture of what they wanted for the future; the workers of Lodève, who could present demands relating to the very structure of their industry, looked really to the past. And against miners and southern wool workers, the force of employers and especially of government troops could always be applied. This outside force could defeat most efforts whenever internal weakness was not sufficient. The miners of Anzin, however, managed to win a number of wage raises through strike action; those of Rive-de-Gier were partially successful. Workers of Lodève and Castres also achieved some gains through strikes. Clearly, the example would spread. For many of the most important weaknesses of industrial labor were not permanent. Time and experience would decrease the debilitating sense of newness. Industry itself would create greater prosperity and so a greater possibility of taking vigorous action. As these factors changed, the external barriers to worker protest would have to yield.

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The Futile Compromise Reconsidered: Wielopolski and Russian Policy in the Congress Kingdom, 1861-1863

STANLEY J. ZYZNIEWSKI*

AS the emancipation of serfs began the transformation of Russian society under Alexander II, the imperial government was faced with a critical situation in the Congress Kingdom of Poland. This crisis was resolved eventually with force and reforms as numerous and extensive as those in the Empire proper, but the process was markedly different. When compared with Polish developments, changes in Russia appeared as an orderly transition devoid of political repercussions. The reforms in the Congress Kingdom were either accompanied by disorders or followed an insurrection. Political issues were also constantly prominent as the imperial government groped for a permanent solution to the Polish question. Consequently, the separate identity of the Congress Kingdom was successively reinforced, weakened, and finally abolished—all in less than a decade.

Political ramifications in the Congress Kingdom were of course due to the interaction of Polish nationalism and Russian responses. The relative liberalization of the early years of Alexander II's reign acted as a leaven for Polish aspirations. Patriotic ferment soon gave rise to demonstrations and public disorders. The imperial reaction at the start of the 1860's was essentially conciliatory. A second and final effort of the century toward a *modus vivendi* between empire and kingdom evolved in 1861 under the aegis of the Polish aristocrat, Alexander Wielopolski. This attempted compromise collapsed when the January insurrection broke out in 1863. Thereafter, the imperial government eschewed any concessionary orientation, and Russian rule in subsequent decades was firmly tied to repression.

Wielopolski's failure at compromise has been subject to widely divergent analyses. He has been pictured as a realist overwhelmed by a wave of romantic nationalism. Critics have indicted him for extreme conservatism and op-

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position to Polish independence. Postwar Marxist historiography usually assesses his role within the matrix of the "dominant class" thesis; that is, he strove to promote capitalist development under the continued domination of the gentry class, even at the sacrifice of independence.¹

The controversial nature of Wielopolski's role has spawned dissimilar or conflicting interpretations, which do, however, share a common tendency. They consistently focus upon the same set of factors when ascertaining why Wielopolski's program failed, albeit with varying degrees of emphasis. These factors may be broadly listed under three categories: personal traits and behavior, inadequate reforms, and the intensity of Polish nationalism.

Wielopolski's arrogance and vindictiveness, his unpopularity among the gentry, and his tactical blunders while in office are invariably cited as hindrances to a successful policy. The legislation he designed for the agrarian crisis has also been criticized as a grievous, perhaps fatal, flaw in his program because it patently reflected the interests of his class. Likewise, the confusion and unfounded optimism among patriotic and insurrectionary Poles have been stressed as deterrents to any possible accommodation between the Russian government and its Polish subjects. These and similar explanations of Wielopolski's failure at compromise remain valid, but they do not fully account for the causes of his failure. There were other equally crucial disabilities militating against Wielopolski's program. At the outset, he had no control over them, and they seriously reduced his effectiveness.

The peculiar bureaucratic and political milieu in which Wielopolski launched his program, and within which he had to operate for some time, has not been adequately investigated. Wielopolski was hampered at the

¹ The most recent competent study of Russo-Polish affairs leading to the 1863 uprising that has appeared in English is R. F. Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection in Russian Poland, 1856-1865* (London, 1963). Details of this period and of Wielopolski's activities are in N. V. Berg, *Zapiski o powstaniu polskiem 1863 i 1864 r.* [Notes on the Polish Insurrection of 1863 and 1864] (3 vols., Cracow, 1898-99); Aleksander Brückner, *Dzieje kultury polskiej w dobie porozbiorowej* [History of Polish Culture in the Postpartitional Period] (Warsaw, 1946); Józef Dąbrowski, *Ostatni szlachcic Aleksander hrabia Wielopolski magnat Gonzaga Myszkowski, na tle dziejów* [The Last Nobleman, Count Alexander Wielopolski, the Marquis Gonzaga Myszkowski, against the Historical Background] (2 vols., Warsaw, 1924); Stefan Kieniewicz, *Miedzy ugoda a rewolucja: Andrzej Zamoyski w latach 1862-1863* [Between Agreement and Revolution: Andrew Zamoyski in the Years 1862-1863] (Warsaw, 1962); Irena Koberdowa, *Wielki Książę Konstanty w Warszawie, 1862-1863* [The Grand Duke Constantine in Warsaw, 1862-1863] (Warsaw, 1962); Stanisław Koźmian, *Rzecz o roku 1863* [The Matter of 1863] (3 vols., Cracow, 1894-95); Henryk Lisicki, *Aleksander Wielopolski* (3 vols., Cracow, 1877-80); M. V. Misko, *Pol'skoe vosstanie 1863 goda* [The Polish Uprising of 1863] (Moscow, 1962); Walery Przyborski, *Historia dwóch lat, 1861-1862* [The History of Two Years, 1861-1862] (5 vols., Cracow, 1892-95); Vladimir G. Revunenkova, *Pol'skoe vosstanie 1863 g. i europejskaia diplomatia* [The Polish Uprising of 1863 and European Diplomacy] (Leningrad, 1957); Adam Skałkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski w świetle archiwów rodzinnych* [Alexander Wielopolski in the Light of Family Archives] (3 vols., Poznań, 1947); Włodzimierz Spasowicz, *Pisma* [Writings] (10 vols., of which III, St. Petersburg, 1892).

start by obstacles arising out of classical weaknesses of the Russian autocracy and out of the administrative conditions prevalent in the kingdom. The particular circumstances precluded those rapid and sweeping measures necessary for averting insurrection. When he eventually overcame these disabilities, undermining paradoxes had arisen.

The Polish rejection of compromise was not inevitable; nor was it due exclusively to defects in Wielopolski's program or personality. It was, however, considerably influenced by the contradictions surrounding Wielopolski's activities. A comprehensive assessment of them constitutes a significant, qualifying commentary in any account of the abortive program. It simultaneously provides an instructive microcosm of imperial decision making and the bureaucratic practices of the Russian autocracy.²

A balanced appraisal of Wielopolski's activities must consider two sets of circumstances existing prior to his taking office: the anomalous status of the Congress Kingdom at that time and the imprecise nature of imperial policy prior to 1861.³

When Alexander II began his reign, the Congress Kingdom was an imprecisely defined appendage of Russia. The Organic Statute of 1832 had previously affirmed a separate administration, but the kingdom's autonomy and various distinguishing institutions had been abolished under Nicholas I. Public life had been increasingly Russified and many sectors subordinated directly to imperial ministries. Martial law, decreed in 1833, was not rescinded officially until 1856. Field Marshal Prince Paskevich administered the kingdom in a semimilitary manner until his death in March 1856.

Nonetheless, the kingdom remained outside the imperial provincial structure and retained certain distinct features. A Secretariat of State for Polish Affairs still functioned as the administrative link between empire and kingdom. The viceregal office remained, along with some central institutions: the Governmental Commissions of Internal Affairs, Justice, and Finance, and the Comptroller General's office. Their directors sat in the Administrative Council, presided over by the viceroy. It had been a part of the defunct Council of State and supervised the governmental machinery.

² Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Patterns of Autocracy," in *The Transformation of Russian Society*, ed. Cyril Black (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), and Marc Raeff, "The Russian Autocracy and Its Officials," in *Russian Thought and Politics*, ed. Hugh McLean *et al.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957).

³ These developments are considered solely for their relevance to circumstances affecting Wielopolski's role. No attempt is made to present a comprehensive background either of the kingdom's status after 1830 or the measures that reflected a comparative liberalization following the accession of Alexander II. Also excluded from the scope of this article are the nationalist agitations and actions of Poles who competed with or opposed Wielopolski. These details are available in standard accounts.

Although few structural changes had been made in lower administrative echelons after 1832, local affairs were generally under the surveillance of military commanders. The make-up of the civil service, however, had changed. Higher central and provincial offices were staffed by Russians; Poles filled lesser posts and manned the postal and transport systems. Consequently, the Congress Kingdom of the 1850's was a hybrid, both as to status and governmental machinery. Centralized and separative institutions coexisted; the administrative apparatus was variegated with Russo-Polish and civil-military elements. This *mélange* proved crucial in the evolution of policy after 1860.

Alexander II had admonished the Poles in 1856 that he intended to preserve his father's system and that they should "forego senseless dreams," but sporadic legislation thereafter tempered the previously stringent regime and paralleled the liberal trends in Russia. This amenability toward change in the Congress Kingdom coincided with exigencies of Russian foreign policy. A gradual though shaky *détente* with France culminated in a secret agreement in 1859. Inasmuch as Napoleon III expressed a solicitous interest in the fate of Poles, the imperial government was naturally sensitive in handling Polish affairs.⁴

Liberalization appeared in diverse forms: amnesties, new educational institutions, permission for Polish landowners to form the Agricultural Society. A more relaxed atmosphere developed. The new viceroy, General Michael Gorchakov, cousin of the Russian Foreign Minister who favored Franco-Russian collaboration, often cultivated influential Poles and appointed some to higher offices. This relaxation had illusory features as well, and changes were sometimes fragmentary.⁵ Nonetheless, an increasingly expectant air persisted among Poles, prompting Russians to insist periodically that political concessions were out of the question. Reports from officials to the viceroy, on the other hand, recognized the need for some administrative reforms.⁶

⁴ See pertinent sections of François Charles-Roux, *Alexandre II, Gortchakoff et Napoléon III* (Paris, 1903); Sergei Tatishchev, *Diplomacya rosyjska w kwestyi polskiej: 1853-1863* [Russian Diplomacy in the Polish Question: 1853-1863] (Warsaw, 1911); B. H. Sumner, "The Secret Franco-Russian Agreement of 3 March 1859," *English Historical Review*, XLVIII (Jan. 1933).

⁵ Martial law was rescinded in 1856, for example, but when the military districts were finally abolished in 1858, the commanders of garrisons in provincial towns were vested with authority comparable to that exercised under martial law.

⁶ The civil governor of Warsaw province proposed that district councils be formed among Poles to consider local needs on a comprehensive basis and to replace numerous temporary committees that contributed to administrative confusion. This anticipated a key feature in Wielopolski's program, but it was also emphasized that no political inference be drawn in this instance. (Archiwum Głównie Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Old Documents, Warsaw, Poland; hereafter cited as AGAD], *Akta Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego* [Documents of the Council of State of the Polish Kingdom], No. 306, VI, Report No. 4716/965, Jan. 7-19, 1861.)

This unclear pattern of concessions rekindled Polish aspirations, though it failed to keep pace with nationalist anticipations as events elsewhere in Europe encouraged thoughts of independence. The ferment deepened as the new decade unfolded; it soon manifested itself in religious processions, street demonstrations, and disorders.

Officials reacted uncertainly as the situation deteriorated. The Emperor himself seemed irresolute, reluctant to revert to repression. Further concessions were possible, he insisted, but they could not appear as responses to nationalist pressures. Viceroy Gorchakov in effect expressed the indecision of the government: "Relying upon force on one hand, upon kindness on the other, . . . one may hope that the present crisis will be resolved."⁷ These hesitations made "Russian rule . . . just as little feared as liked. . . ."⁸

The crisis reached a climax when troops fired upon a Warsaw demonstration on February 27, 1861, killing five; it set the stage for Wielopolski's emergence. Of his own accord Alexander II was ready to grant additional concessions. Wielopolski's firm advocacy of concrete proposals attracted his attention. The manifesto of March 14-26, 1861, outlined the nature of forthcoming reforms found acceptable in the solution advanced by Wielopolski, who was designated director of the newly formed Governmental Commission of Religion and Education.

At the base of Wielopolski's political orientation was a staunch Germanophobia and the conviction that Poles could benefit from cooperation with Russia under propitious circumstances. His views on agrarian matters were conservative; he and most Polish gentry opposed any broad reorganization of peasant-landlord relations. Unlike the majority of Poles, however, he rejected the possibility that armed revolt, aided by foreign intervention, could restore Polish independence. He saw a negotiated compromise with Russia as the only realistic goal.⁹

⁷ Quoted in Franciszka Ramotowska, "Rząd rosyjski wobec manifestacji patriotycznych w Królestwie Polskim" [The Russian Government in the Face of Patriotic Manifestations in the Polish Kingdom], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, LXIX (No. 4, 1962), 862; see also Krzysztof Groniowski, "Dowództwo rosyjskie wobec manifestacji warszawskich 1861 roku" [The Russian Command in the Face of the Warsaw Demonstrations of 1861], *Przegląd Historyczny*, LII (No. 4, 1961), 724-28.

⁸ *St. Petersburg and London in the Years 1852-1864: Reminiscences of Count Charles Frederick Vitzthum von Eckhardt* (2 vols., London, 1887), II, 240; see also *Vospominaniia General-Maiora Vasilii Abramovicha Dokudovskogo* [The Reminiscences of Major-General Vasily Abramovich Dokudovskii] (Riazan, 1898), 237 ff.; P. P. Kartsov, "Varshava v 1860 i 1861 gg." [Warsaw in 1860 and 1861], *Russkaia Starina*, XXXVI (No. 12, 1882), 541 ff.

⁹ Lisicki, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, II-III, and Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, II-III, are indispensable for Wielopolski's views. The outstanding issue was the need for rural reform, but the socioeconomic aspects of Wielopolski's program are beyond the purview of this article. (Cf. T. Szczechura, "Ukaz o okupie pańszczyzny z dnia 16 maja 1861 r." [The Decree of 16 May 1861 on Converting Labor Services], *Przegląd Historyczny*, XL [No. 2, 1949], 261-76;

Wielopolski's *Realpolitik* envisioned a return to the political conditions that existed in the kingdom after 1815. But the moves could not be precipitous because of Russian apprehensions that autonomy might be a threat to imperial unity. Poles, moreover, had to be reconciled to dynastic union, and some modernization of the kingdom's socioeconomic structure was first necessary. His program was tailored, accordingly, around two broad objectives: correction of major socioeconomic imbalances and a governmental reorganization that provided vents for national feeling. The latter was made acceptable to imperial circles when presented simply as a belated implementation of the Organic Statute of 1832.¹⁰

Governmental reforms were tied to three broad operations: the restoration of central institutions, which reinforced a separate status; "re-Polonization" of the bureaucracy; and a wider area of political activity. The last rested upon the introduction of elected councils at urban, district, and provincial levels. Although the councils were based on a highly restricted franchise and various restraints were placed upon them,¹¹ Wielopolski assumed that the combined impact of changes would channel nationalist energies away from insurrectionary tendencies.

"Oui, la réforme est le vaccin de la révolution," Wielopolski had observed, and his political accomplishments seemed impressive as 1862 drew to a close. The Congress Kingdom had been elevated to its most felicitous status since 1830. Its separate identity was more clearly delineated and the viceregal office gained greater prestige with the appointment of the Emperor's brother, Grand Duke Constantine. The Council of State had been restored as the top governmental body; the postal, transport, and educational systems again operated autonomously. Elections and some opening sessions of district and urban councils had been held, and "their deliberations were . . .

Hipolit Grynwaser, *Pisma* [Writings] [3 vols., Wrocław, 1951], III; Stefan Kieniewicz, *Sprawa włościańska w powstaniu styczniowym* [The Peasant Question in the January Insurrection] [Wrocław, 1953]; Jan Rutkowski, *Historia gospodarcza Polski (do 1864 r.)* [The Economic History of Poland (to 1864)] [Warsaw, 1953]; J. Enderówna, "Sprawa oświaty ludowej w Królestwie Polskim w dobie reform Wielopolskiego" [The Case of Public Education in the Period of Wielopolski's Reforms], *Przegląd Historyczny*, XXVII [No. 1, 1928].

¹⁰ *Dnevnik P. A. Valueva* [The Diary of P. A. Valuev], ed. P. A. Zaionchkovskii (2 vols., Moscow, 1962), I, 73, 86; Revunenko, *Pol'skoe vosstanie*, 88.

¹¹ AGAD, *Akta Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego dotyczące Rad Gubernialnych* [Documents of the Council of State of the Polish Kingdom related to Provincial Councils], No. 305, V, 95; *ibid.*, *Protokoły Rady Administracyjnej Królestwa Polskiego* [Protocols of the Administrative Council of the Polish Kingdom], No. 144, protocol No. 18 (Feb. 23-Mar. 7, 1862); *ibid.*, *Akta Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego, Rys ogólny działań władz rządowych Królestwa Polskiego za rok 1861* [A Broad Summary of Governmental Operations of the Polish Kingdom for 1861], 18 ff., 157 ff.; Juliusz Strumiński, "Rady miejskie i powiatowe w Królestwie Polskim, 1861-1863" [Urban and District Councils in the Polish Kingdom, 1861-1863], *Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne*, IV (1952), 274-356.

mature . . . which gives hope that new institutions . . . will bring the desired progress."¹²

"Re-Polonization" of the civil service had been thorough, leaving but seven non-Poles in higher offices,¹³ and work had begun toward a new legal code to replace the previously Russified version. Finally, and perhaps most vital, a distinct separation of civil and military authority had been affirmed for the kingdom.

These achievements notwithstanding, Wielopolski failed to secure any wholehearted support from large or influential segments of Polish society. Political factions throughout 1862 had coalesced generally either toward the radically inclined Reds or the gentry dominated Whites.¹⁴ When Wielopolski finally tried to emasculate conspiratorial opposition by a selective application of the military draft, the January insurrection followed.

The collapse of compromise must in part be attributed to the intensity of Polish nationalism, to the deficiencies of the reforms, and to importune tactics. Beyond these, however, looms another consideration. Wielopolski's keystone for placating Polish ferment had been the reorganization of the kingdom's administration, and its success required rapid and coordinated execution of reforms. This potentially stabilizing force was seriously impaired from the beginning because Wielopolski was also faced with intra-governmental animus and distrust. In any period of reform, frictions that reflect differences of opinion among ranking officials (even after the lines of policy have been set) are almost inevitably mirrored in the lower bureaucratic echelons. These obviously affect the outcome of reforms. Consequently, the "war on two fronts" in which he was engaged sapped the vitality of his program and created paradoxical situations.

Formulation and direction of policy in nineteenth-century Russia were vested exclusively in an autocratic executive. The Emperor's exercise of this power was not subject to any legal restraints or hindrances, but it has been demonstrated that the heterogeneous nature of the imperial administration

¹² AGAD, *Sobstvennoi Ego Imperatovskogo Velichestva Kantseliarii po delam Tsarstva Pol'skago* [His Imperial Highness' Personal Chancery on Affairs of the Polish Kingdom], Report No. 666 (1862). This was the first and only occasion in the nineteenth century that urban councils functioned. The law was rescinded in 1866.

¹³ Cf. *Journal de St. Petersburg*, Apr. 26, 1863; AGAD, *Protokoły posiedzień nadzwyczajnych Komisji Rządowej Spraw Wewnętrznych z 1862/63 r.* [Protocols of Extraordinary Sessions of the Governmental Commission for Internal Affairs for 1862/63], No. 4 (July 4-16, 1862); *Issledovaniia v Tsarstve Pol'skom po vysochaishemu poveleniiu proizvodennye pod rukovodstvom stats-sekretaria Miliutina* [Investigations in the Polish Kingdom at Imperial Command Carried out under the Direction of State Secretary Miliutin] (6 vols., St. Petersburg, 1864), IV, pt. 1, 6-8.

¹⁴ The labyrinthine development of Polish politics and conspiratorial activities has been aptly summarized in Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection*.

and the traditional practices of the ruler in making appointments did influence the execution of policy or reforms. Emperors preserved their power and the control of government by these practices, but at a sacrifice of coordination at top levels and a lack of consensus in high councils.¹⁵

The Emperor is really his own Minister, and so bad a Minister that no consequent or coherent policy is pursued; but that each influential person, military or civil, snatches from him, as opportunity offers, the decisions that such person at the moment wants, and that the mutual effect is determined exclusively by chance.¹⁶

Since the days of Peter the Great, reforms in Russia often failed to achieve anticipated results or produced effects not originally intended. Within the span of time and space that separated formulation of policy and its implementation, disparities and unintended consequences were frequent, particularly when reforms involved bureaucratic reorganization.

Throughout the Polish crisis of the 1860's, these features of uncoordination and conflict within the government acquired a critical significance. Socioeconomic pressures for reform became enmeshed with nationalist pressures. The Nicolaevian legacy included an administrative apparatus manned mostly by non-Poles or unreconstructed careerists, as well as a conglomeration of jurisdictional problems between military and civil authorities. These alone were serious impedimenta; they grew more ominous when imperial policy was riven with suspicions and uncertainties. Their impact irreparably dissipated what force there was in Wielopolski's solution.

Viewed comprehensively, Wielopolski's efforts were immediately endangered by imperial equivocation that, in turn, fostered an *autel contre autel* atmosphere among top officials in the kingdom. The latter was magnified by the civil-military syndrome, which also complicated operations and contributed to the paradoxical disloyalty among lower bureaucratic echelons following "re-Polonization." An elaboration of these developments provides additional insights into the ironies of Wielopolski's program.

The logic of events had prevailed upon the Emperor to sanction political concessions as a means for stilling Polish unrest, but it was apparent that he had no strong convictions about the wisdom or virtue of Wielopolski's approach.¹⁷ He was apprehensive that a course inimical to imperial interests

¹⁵ "He did this by appointing men of varying opinions to the inner councils, by balancing the influence of regular officials with authority he vested in the hands of friends and *aides-de-camp*, by delegating some civilian matters to the military, and by having outsiders implement policies drafted by his ministers." (Raeff, "Russian Autocracy," 90.)

¹⁶ Lord Salisbury's observations, in a letter of Sept. 15, 1885, referred to Alexander III, but they are equally applicable to policy making of other reigns. (Cecil, Lady Gwendolen, *Life of Lord Salisbury* [3 vols., London, 1931], III, 231.)

¹⁷ "In the end, all has occurred so vaguely that I myself, with the papers before me, do not know what has been accepted and what has not." (*Dnevnik P. A. Valueva*, ed. Zaionchkovskii, I, 85.) Among those deliberating over the Polish crisis was the imperial Minister of Internal

might evolve, and, consequently, adherents of a "hard" and a "soft" Polish policy competed for imperial attention throughout 1861.

The lack of confidence from the Emperor was reflected in Wielopolski's initial appointment. He received none of the practical power necessary to expedite reforms; what influence he exercised rested on the support of Viceroy Gorchakov. But the latter died within two months, and successors were either uncooperative or plainly antagonistic. Imperial reminders that Wielopolski must be controlled contributed to the disputatious relations that developed between him and Gorchakov's successors. His first tenure of office lasted seven months. The sharp and bitter reports from the acting viceroy brought a summons from St. Petersburg. There Wielopolski vegetated seven months more as the Emperor reappraised his Polish policy.¹⁸

This prolonged stay reflected imperial uncertainty; at the root of it was Wielopolski's insistence that a clear demarcation be established between civil and military jurisdiction in the kingdom. The re-establishment of order, in his view, could be achieved only if civil and judicial processes of government were effectively supported. The frequently brutal and indiscriminate measures the military used for pacifying the population were self-defeating. They merely intensified resistance and nullified the beneficial intent of reforms, Wielopolski stressed in memorandums to the Emperor from December to February. These failed to evoke a sympathetic response.¹⁹

The emperor is very good; his intentions are excellent, his views very sound, but all these remain in his cabinet, none pass through the door. He wishes but does nothing. To decide is an effort; it fails him.²⁰

Affairs who was generally favorable to Wielopolski's appointment. His diary often reveals the indecision and conflicting views among the imperial advisers on Polish affairs. (Cf. *ibid.*, I, 71, 87, 89, 103, 162 ff.)

¹⁸ Following Gorchakov's death at the end of May (New Style), the former imperial Minister of War, General Nicholas Sukhozhanet, was appointed acting viceroy. This old servitor of Nicholas I was hostile to Wielopolski's plans and strove to administer the kingdom in a military style. Sharp and frequent disagreements led to Wielopolski's request in July that he be relieved, but the Emperor rejected it. Count Charles Lambert relieved Sukhozhanet on August 11-23. Although well intentioned, he reacted to Polish disorders by reimposing martial law on October 2-14. His quarrel with the military governor general of Warsaw led to the latter's suicide and was followed by Lambert's resignation on October 14-26. Sukhozhanet returned again in an acting capacity until the appointment of General Alexander Lüders on October 24-November 5, 1861. During this interval, Sukhozhanet's quarrels with Wielopolski became so intense and his reports to the Emperor so bitter that Alexander ordered Wielopolski to Russia in early November. (Cf. AGAD, *Kancelaria Tajna Namiestnika Y.C.K. Mosci i Głównodowodzącego Wojskami w Królestwie Polskim, Korrespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z cesarzem Aleksandrem II i innymi osobistościami* [Secret Chancery of the Viceroy of His Imperial Majesty and Commander in Chief of the Armies in the Polish Kingdom, Correspondence of the Viceroys of the Polish Kingdom with Tsar Alexander II and Other Personages], IV, 6-7; *Russkaia Starina*, XXXVII [No. 2, 1883], 631-35.) General Lüders remained viceroy until May 27-June 8, 1862, when Grand Duke Constantine was appointed.

¹⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, CIV (No. 12, 1900), 520; Lisicki, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, I, 310-15.

²⁰ Adam Skalkowski, *Na marginesie życiorysu A. Wielopolskiego* [On the Margin of a Biography of A. Wielopolski] (Poznań, 1948), 4.

The doubts and dilatory behavior of the Emperor had their echoes in Wielopolski's consultations with high officials. His forceful and self-confident air left a positive impression upon most Russians, but negotiations with them dragged on interminably.

This is a fatiguing exercise. Although they may acknowledge a principle—autonomy, for example—they seek conditions in subsequent issues that are directly opposed to this, and as though it were in the best of faith.²¹

The Emperor's uncertainty was compounded by his suspicions of Wielopolski's motivation: "To give him an independent status in Poland in whatever form is not within my intentions because I cannot see if his basic loyalties are with me or with the Polish movement."²²

This costly interlude finally ended in June 1862 when Grand Duke Constantine was designated viceroy and Wielopolski made head of the kingdom's civil administration. It appeared on the surface as a victory for Wielopolski because the civil and military jurisdictions were more clearly defined and the authority of the latter reduced. "A new era begins," wrote Minister of War Dmitry Miliutin. "I hope . . . it will bring more results than the policy has heretofore."²³ In reality, Wielopolski's return was substantially the result of the imperial government's inability to formulate a more efficacious expedient.²⁴

Considerable time had been wasted without diminishing the Emperor's apprehension that Wielopolski's strong personality and forceful behavior might threaten imperial initiative and control. Admonitions to his brother in the remaining months of 1862 indicated this.

I expect Wielopolski will be a true help to You. . . . But knowing his severe and stubborn character, You should be prepared for strife and not submit to him in those matters which . . . may not be in harmony with the interest of the govern-

²¹ *Id.*, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 92. Bismarck, ending his ambassadorial tenure in Russia, observed as late as April 1863 that the Emperor "never maintained complete confidence toward his advisers who urged him to give Poles a national administration in the hope that Poland and Russia would live in peace, as Sweden with Norway." (*Die politischen Berichte des Fürsten Bismarck aus Petersburg und Paris [1859-1862]*, ed. L. Raschdau [2 vols., Berlin, 1920], II, 190.)

²² Adam Szelański, *Polska, jej dzieje i kultura* [Poland, Her History and Culture] (3 vols., Warsaw, 1930), III, 350.

²³ *Russkii Arkhiv* (No. 3, 1891), 356.

²⁴ Cf. AGAD, *Kancelaria Tajna Namiestnika Y.C.K. Mosci i Głównodowodzącego Wojskami w Królestwie Polskim, Korrespondencja namiestników Królestwa Polskiego z cesarzem Aleksandrem II i innymi osobistościami*, IV, imperial rescript of May 16-28, 1862; *Dnevnik P. A. Valueva*, ed. Zaionchkovskii, I, 168. Among alternatives considered was the appointment of Nicholas Miliutin to direct extensive rural reforms favoring the Polish peasantry in an obvious effort to cultivate the loyalty of that class. Miliutin declined, pleading ignorance of Polish affairs. Other details are in Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *Un homme d'état russe* (Paris, 1884), 128 ff.; Skałkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 80 ff.; Przyborowski, *Historia dwóch lat*, IV, 117 ff.; Koberdowa, *Wielki Książę Konstanty*, 42 ff.; Spasowicz, *Pisma*, III, 243 ff.

ment and monarchy. . . . You ought to convey to him that You are his superior and he Your chief adviser and the executor of Your commands and decrees in civil affairs, and not a guardian in whom You blindly believe and indulge.²⁵

Given the Emperor's attitudes, the lack of consensus among high officials in the kingdom was not surprising, but the harmful results have been somewhat underestimated. Military officials and bureaucrats of the Nicolaevian mold retained important posts during Wielopolski's first tenure. Sukhozhanet's outspoken hostility encouraged further intrigues and obstructions. Foremost among those representing the old traditions were General Leon Gercewicz, Alexander Krusenstern, and Romuald Hube.²⁶ These men regarded any concessions to be grave threats to the political safety of the Empire. The generally tactful and amiable Count Charles Lambert failed to eliminate cabals within the administration. The wranglings and obfuscations that attended Wielopolski's efforts to translate the spirit of the March 14-26 manifesto into legislation often appeared during the sessions of the Administrative Council and the Council of State.²⁷

The danger that his program would be scuttled appeared more ominous to Wielopolski after the reimposition of martial law and his departure to Russia. Two audiences with the Emperor in November accomplished little, and in the following month Alexander relieved him of all responsibilities save membership in the kingdom's Council of State. Meantime, news from Warsaw appeared more alarming; his opponents had stepped up their activities while anti-Russian animus among the population deepened.

Viceroy Alexander Lüders was empowered only to re-establish order under martial law. His immediate deputy, the Russified General Nicolas Krzyżanowski, enforced a stringent regime as the military governor general of Warsaw. He and Masson, new head of the postal system whose previous exposure to Polish affairs came as head of the secret police under Ivan Paske-

²⁵ Letter of June 18-30, 1862, reprinted in Koberdowa, *Wielki Książę Konstanty*, 261 ff. Further correspondence is in the Russian periodical published in Prague, *Dela i Dni*, II-III (1922-23).

²⁶ "As to the Marquis, I shall say that the administrative difficulties now are naturally serious, but if they permit him to act in his own way, be prepared in the future for even more serious difficulties." (Letter of General Grecewicz, dated Apr. 3-15, 1861, in *Russkaja Starina*, C [No. 10, 1899], 142.) Gercewicz, a Russified Pole who directed Internal Affairs in 1861, opposed even the relatively modest rural reforms advanced by Wielopolski. Krusenstern, of German origins, was the most tireless opponent. Much of his career had been in the diplomatic chancery of Viceroy Paskevich; he became head of Internal Affairs during Wielopolski's stay in Russia. Hube, a Polish careerist and member of the imperial Senate, headed the commission for reform of the legal code in the kingdom and assumed the portfolio for Education and Religion during Wielopolski's absence. Both Krusenstern and Hube were relieved of their posts in the kingdom upon Wielopolski's return in June 1862.

²⁷ Cf. AGAD, *Protokoły nadzwyczajnych posiedzeń Rady Administracyjnej*, No. 34 (Apr. 29-May 11, 1861); *ibid.*, *Protokoły Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego*, No. 9 (Nov. 11-23, 1861); Dąbrowski, *Ostatni szlachciec*, II, 49-59.

vich, were newly appointed to the Administrative Council which had become preponderantly anti-Wielopolski in orientation. A sharp turnover in personnel throughout lower administrative echelons was among the alarming auguries instigated by Krzyżanowski, and previously venal careerists were back at their posts. "He will disorganize the whole country in a couple of months. Platonov as well is shaking up the whole administration."²⁸

Wielopolski expressed his dismay in a December memorandum to the Emperor, noting that new appointments left only three Poles among the nine members of the Administrative Council and that "a great number of matters are examined and resolved outside of the Council. . . ." Conditions of this nature defied the Emperor's original intentions, he observed. As with four similar communications written by him before the end of the year, this effort brought no tangible results.²⁹

The blurred vision of Polish conditions persisted along the Neva during late winter and spring, while in the kingdom prospects for compromise dimmed as more Poles entered into conspiratorial activities.

The single most formidable source of frustrations impeding Wielopolski's actions to mid-1862 was the civil-military syndrome in the kingdom's administration. Its origins stemmed from the peculiar status of the kingdom after 1830; its persistence resulted from the imperial partiality for military in government. It precluded any re-establishment of normal governmental processes that figured so largely in Wielopolski's formula.

Military controls had been fastened tightly during the quarter century of Paskevich's administration. The viceroy was at the same time commander in chief of the First Army, which included forces both in the kingdom and outlying areas to the east. Paskevich's successors continued to serve in both capacities. Hypothetically, the military sector coexisted with the civil administration; in reality it became the dominant authority in public life. Martial law had not been rescinded under Nicholas I, who likewise exercised his penchant for "army ways" in government by relying heavily upon generals to direct the administrative machinery of the kingdom. Alexander II did not deviate from the practice to any significant degree. All viceroys had long military careers, and generals headed Internal Affairs in the kingdom to mid-1862.

²⁸ Letter of Joseph Potocki to Wielopolski, dated Nov. 29, 1861, and quoted in Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 93. Senator Valerian P. Platonov was second in charge of the Secretariat of State for Polish Affairs which transmitted official matters between empire and kingdom. Inasmuch as the titular head, Joseph Tymowski, was ineffectual, Platonov usually exercised the initiative of that office. He also served on the Administrative Council and the Council of State in the kingdom.

²⁹ Cf. *Russkaia Starina*, CIV (No. 12, 1900), 520-22; Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 299-304.

The military domination was further abetted by the Russified criminal code introduced in 1848. It lacked any civil, judicial processes for dealing with public disturbances. These fell under the jurisdiction of military courts prone to view disorders as comparable to political crimes. Consequently, military investigating commissions exercised wide authority over incidents that conceivably inferred some political motivation. Months often passed before guilt or innocence was established as suspects languished in prison. Provincial military commanders were also empowered to apply administrative exile without trial, a convenience frequently invoked.

Foremost among military offices controlling public life was that of the military governor general of Warsaw. His competence extended beyond the city's garrison, over police forces and the imperial *gendarmérie* in the kingdom. Internal passports also emanated from this office, and when martial law was returned, authority over military investigating commissions was shared with the newly formed Chancery for Military Affairs attached to the viceroy.⁸⁰

Because of the generationlong precedent of a military dominated administration, higher officials often caviled at Wielopolski's attempt to broaden civil authority in public affairs. His first effort led to tragic circumstances and brought opprobrium to his role within a fortnight of his appointment. He had prevailed upon the Administrative Council to pass a set of procedures and penalties dealing with public disorders. These regulations were enforced the next day upon the advice of the military when another demonstration was forming in Warsaw. Having no prior publicity, both the spirit and aim of this legislation were violated, and hundreds of casualties resulted. Public opinion attributed the catastrophe to Wielopolski's initiative.⁸¹

⁸⁰ At Wielopolski's insistence, this office was abolished upon his return to Warsaw in 1862. (Cf. Kazimierz Konarski, "Zespół akt Wojskowego General-Gubernatora Warszawskiego" [Collection of Documents of the Warsaw Military Governor-General], *Archeion*, XIII [1935], 84 ff.; Franciszka Ramotowska, "Carskie władze represyjne" [The Tsarist Repressive Forces], in *Proces Romualda Traugutta i członków Rządu Narodowego* [The Trial of Romuald Traugutt and Members of the Nationalist Government], ed. Emmanuel Halicz *et al.* [5 vols., Warsaw, 1960], I, xvi-xliv.)

⁸¹ Wielopolski intended that these regulations promote legal norms inasmuch as the authority of military investigating commissions over disorders would be removed and the prescribed penalties would eliminate deportations as a form of punishment. A rising demonstration was to be confronted with a series of warnings—three drum rolls at stated intervals—with an order to disperse, and with the notice given that firearms would be used otherwise. Disorderly demonstrations had begun April 7 and continued the following day. These were sparked by the Wielopolski sponsored dissolution of the Agricultural Society two days earlier. He had been unable to recruit active support from the leadership of this group, notably Count Andrew Zamoyski, and concluded that, were this organization to retain legal status, it would function merely as a locus of opposition. On April 8 military advice prevailed upon the viceroy to authorize application of the new procedures against the mobs. Drum rolls actually

The struggle with the military camarilla was generally hidden from public knowledge, and Wielopolski regarded it as an internal problem. Tensions were particularly acute throughout the summer of 1861, during Sukhozhanet's presence in Warsaw. His circular of July 8–20 rescinded the regulations governing street disorders and restored authority to military commanders and investigating commissions—all without Wielopolski's knowledge or the consent of the Administrative Council. The military, emboldened by the viceroy's animus, frequently interfered in civil matters and victimized civil servants with impunity. These notorious infringements finally provoked Wielopolski to submit his resignation toward the end of July, but the Emperor prevailed upon him to remain, with the assurance of Sukhozhanet's early departure.

Count Lambert's promulgation of martial law (October 2–14), likewise without consultation with Wielopolski, further compromised the latter's attempt to set up normal governmental processes. Seven military districts divided the kingdom, each under the command of a general. Provisions had been made for the Council of State to continue its functions, and elections to local councils were allowed, but military interference in civil matters naturally increased. Reported cases included military arrests of candidates, proscription of election campaigns, and even dispersal of voters at the polls. "Despite the best of intentions," Wielopolski noted, "Lambert has permitted the absorption of civil affairs . . . by the military."³² The regime of General Lüders that followed amounted to greater military domination and deepened the Polish estrangement from any compromise.³³

In an atmosphere made tense by the civil-military syndrome, the plan aimed at placating nationalist agitation by the "re-Polonization" of the bureaucratic apparatus led to paradoxical results. Reforms and restoration of institutions had expanded the administrative machinery. Wielopolski's recruitment of Poles extended into Galicia and Poznań. He succeeded for the most part in placing cooperative and conscientious men in higher posts, and, following his return to Warsaw in 1862, the official gazette published almost daily changes of officeholders.

attracted greater numbers to the scene, and these were subsequently caught up in the rifle fire. (Cf. AGAD, *Protokoły nadzwyczajnych posiedzeń Rady Administracyjnej*, No. 25 [Mar. 27–Apr. 8, 1861]; Kieniewicz, *Miedzy ugoda a rewolucja*, 99–151; Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection*, 110–15.)

³² Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 77.

³³ With martial law, the number of troops rose considerably in the kingdom, from an estimated 45,000 at the start of 1861 to some 70,000 at the end of that year. (Groniowski, "Dowództwo rosyjskie," 734; cf. Józef Dąbrowski, *Rok 1863* [The Year 1863] [Poznań, 1922], 320 ff.; Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection*, 125 ff.; Lisicki, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, I, 226 ff.; Spasowicz, *Pisma*, 228 ff.; Przyborowski, *Historia dwóch lat*, III, 70 ff.)

Among the several thousands involved in the "re-Polonization" process, those in upper echelons generally behaved with consistent loyalty. Differences in attitude, however, existed between these men and lesser functionaries. Anti-Russianism and patriotism had strongly conditioned the views of lower echelons for more than a generation. Faced with Wielopolski's program, lower officials were torn between professional loyalty or personal ambitions and patriotism. In these unstable times and because of the lack of a clear-cut imperial policy, lesser officials often cultivated the art of dissimulation. Impelled toward a "wait and see" posture, governmental employees performed their duties, yet were not above cooperating with conspiratorial elements when the occasion arose.

This moral viability, often meant to avoid personal hardship, affected Wielopolski's stratagem adversely. Radicals capitalized upon this paradox as they increased their activities at the beginning of 1862. Official secrecy could not be maintained effectively, nor could enforcement of laws for curbing clandestine groups. Efforts of the government at times assumed ludicrous forms for shoring up loyalty, as when state employees were permitted to wear only cylindrical hats in order to avoid traditional headgear, which could be interpreted as a patriotic gesture. Meantime, civil servants more actively aided the radical movement, particularly in the postal and transport systems where illegal traffic in arms and documents was greatest.

Consequently, "re-Polonization" failed to diminish revolutionary ardor by 1862 and actually facilitated underground operations. Bureaucratic disloyalty manifested itself dramatically on the eve of the insurrection. Wielopolski's plan to draft urban youth into the army as a means of eliminating a major source of radicalism collapsed; prospective victims had been warned and fled the towns.³⁴

Defections among Polish officials and elected representatives spread rap-

³⁴ No military conscription had taken place in the kingdom since the Crimean War. The 1859 law stipulated that recruits be drafted by lot from among those eligible, and an imperial rescript of June 1862 designated a quota of 12,000 be filled from a registry of 72,000 eligible males. The Emperor subsequently approved Wielopolski's plan to exempt rural elements, thereby siphoning off the unruly youths of towns often involved in nationalist agitations. This operation was carried out quite unsuccessfully during the night of January 15-16, 1863. Of the 8,346 youths sporadically rounded up, only 4,984 were later found to be fit for service. This action, in turn, convinced the Reds of the immediate need for an armed uprising. (Cf. AGAD, *Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych Królestwa Polskiego, Protokoły posiedzeń nadzwyczajnych* [The Governmental Commission for Internal Affairs of the Polish Kingdom, Protocols of Extraordinary Sessions], No. 14 [Sept. 26-Oct. 8, 1862]; *ibid.*, *Akta Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego dotyczące się sprawozdań 1863, Rys ogólny działań władz rządowych Królestwa Polskiego za rok 1863* [Documents of the Council of State of the Polish Kingdom concerning Reports for 1863, A Broad Summary of Governmental Operations of the Polish Kingdom for 1863], 273; *12 proshlago. Lichnie i sluzhebnye vospominaniia P. P. Kartsova* [Out of the Past. The Personal and Official Reminiscences of P. P. Kartsov] [2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1888] I, 210; Spasowicz, *Pisma*, III, 290 ff.)

idly at the height of the insurrection in the spring and summer of 1863. Only four of the town councils held any sessions that year, and none of the rural district councils could be convened. The resignations from the Council of State reduced its membership by one-third. The formal *coup de grâce* given Wielopolski's program in July 1863 was preceded by a final, ironic twist: the robbery of the central bank in the kingdom of 3,600,000 rubles in bonds and currency by two Polish employees of long standing. These instances of bureaucratic disloyalty figured prominently later, when new reforms were launched under Nicholas Miliutin in 1864. He insisted upon the purge of Poles from the administrative apparatus to ensure the proper execution of reforms.³⁵

From his emergence as the architect of compromise in March 1861 to the outbreak of fighting in January 1863, Wielopolski passed through three periods in which circumstances beyond his control crippled his efforts. No single development or causality preordained his failure, although various ominous portents persisted. Summarily, though, the single, most glaring danger to his program was his inability to command a rapid and coordinated execution of his plan.

Hypothetically, Wielopolski in 1861 was in a position to decide the immediate destiny of the Congress Kingdom. Admittedly, something of a "moral revolution" had gripped the population after the bloodshed of February 27. The appearance of national costumes, religious-patriotic services, and nationalist demonstrations grew more frequent.³⁶ Moreover, he was unable to rally immediate support from the conservative-minded gentry. These were serious problems, but time had not run out, and the concessions and palliatives he had in mind still could restore order. As summer ended, the gentry led Whites had second thoughts about outright opposition. Political concessions had not excited the enthusiasm they might have two or three years earlier, but they did attract some reputable Polish figures whose moral influence toward stability could have been expanded. Furthermore, no

³⁵ Further details about the kingdom's bureaucracy before and after the insurrection are in AGAD, *Akta Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego*, XLIX (*dotyczące uwolnienia ze służby urzędników Rady Stanu*) [related to the dismissal from service of officials of the Council of State], No. 4728 (July 11–23, 1861); *ibid.*, XXVI (*osób mających dozwołnienie do służby rządowej*) [persons having access to governmental service], No. 19582 (Jan. 27–Feb. 8, 1866); *Sbornik tsirkuliarov Voenna-politseiskago Upravleniia v Tsarstve Pol'skom, 1863–1866 godov* [Collection of Circulars of the Military-Police Administration in the Polish Kingdom, for 1863 to 1866] (Warsaw, 1867), 65 ff.; *Issledovaniia v Tsarstve Pol'skom*, II and IV; Skalkowski, *Aleksander Wielopolski*, III, 34; Spasowicz, *Pisma*, III, 300.

³⁶ Ryszard Bender, "Rewolucja moralna 1861 r." [The Moral Revolution of 1861], *Zeszyty Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, IV (No. 3, 1961), 83–94.

significant conspiratorial moves among patriotic radicals had yet begun; nor had they yet formed an effective organization to challenge seriously the compromise solution.

Nonetheless, little beyond the initial legislation of the first few weeks was accomplished during this relatively propitious time. Much of the inactivity was explained by the contradictions and vacillations observed within the government. Imperial obliviousness and suspicions, clashes with Sukhozhanet, and the civil-military frictions in these months compounded tensions and fostered greater Polish agitation. They culminated with martial law and Wielopolski's temporary withdrawal, both of which bespattered his public image. Some elections were held, and the Whites reversed their noncooperation, but confusion and discontent mounted.

The period of seven months when Wielopolski was in St. Petersburg coincided with the genesis of insurrectionary organization. He finally secured those commitments that the Emperor could have made in March 1861, and the time wasted proved fatal to compromise. Martial law enforced under General Lüders drove Polish nationalists toward greater immoderation. "The withdrawal of Marquis Wielopolski . . . reverberates in diverse ways."³⁷ Martial law as a cure proved worse than the disease. Numerous arrests for petty infractions increased Polish opposition, and widespread, often fantastic, rumors heightened the confusion and excitement.³⁸ Patriotic ferment previously had an outlet in religious services, processions, and the sporting of national insignia. Martial law by the end of 1861 made such manifestations too dangerous and therefore stimulated radical nationalists into forming underground organizations. The nucleus of insurrectionary leadership, formed in the autumn, grew more disciplined, more influential, and territorially more effective. The Reds harnessed the spreading spirit of revolt.³⁹

³⁷ From the weekly report of General Lüders, for Dec. 11-18, 1861, reprinted in *Russkaia Starina*, C (No. 11, 1899), 466.

³⁸ Among more imaginative rumors was that Giuseppe Garibaldi was about to arrive from Herzegovina with a liberating army. Lüders reported that infractions of martial law brought from 170 to 320 arrests weekly, often for such petty violations as failure of pedestrians to carry lights in the streets at night. (Cf. *ibid.*, 667-96.) Arrests between January 1 and July 20, 1862, have been estimated at 14,833. (Strumiński, "Rady miejskie," 353.) On the other hand, Grand Duke Constantine reported that of the 499 Poles meted sentences under martial law, 289 had been pardoned. (AGAD, *Protokoły zwyczajnych posiedzeń Rady Stanu Królestwa Polskiego* [Protocols of Ordinary Sessions of the Council of State of the Polish Kingdom] [Sept. 19-Oct. 1, 1862].)

³⁹ Cf. *W czterdziestą rocznicę powstania styczniowego* [On the Fortieth Anniversary of the January Insurrection] (Lwów, 1903), 441 ff.; *Zeznania śledcze o powstaniu styczniowym* [Examining Depositions about the January Insurrection], ed. Stefan Kieniewicz (Wrocław, 1956), 19, 99, 139, 202; Leslie, *Reform and Insurrection*, 135 ff.; Przyborowski, *Historia dwóch lat*, III, 441 ff.; Szelągowski, *Polska*, III, 352 ff.

Wielopolski's belated return to Warsaw under more amenable circumstances proved to be "too little and too late." The popular mood in the kingdom was considerably changed. The Polish gentry as a class had realized that cooperation could serve their interests better, but the conspiratorial movement had gathered strength and momentum. The Reds resorted more frequently to terror and assassination. The struggle had been joined, despite the gradual removal of martial law by districts. Only a spark was missing for the explosion, and this appeared with the attempted draft of urban youth.

It would be rash, in the final analysis, to speculate that the January insurrection could have been prevented had Wielopolski been spared some of the disabilities and frustrations that emanated from within the governmental milieu. The nationalist fever may have been too great to be cooled by these concessions. His own unpopularity and blunders may have also precluded a peaceful solution. Nonetheless, this aborted compromise did represent a Polish version of the European age of realism, and what opportunity for success existed was greatly wasted by the traditional operations of the Russian autocracy. Administrative convenience, lack of foresight in critical times, and decisions often made by chance—recurring features of imperial decision making—did more than endanger a peaceful accommodation in this instance. They also gave impetus toward insurrection.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

American Studies in Japan

MARIUS B. JANSEN*

JAPANESE instructors in American history now have a superb six-volume set of sources and commentary to which they can direct their students.¹ It is fitting that American studies in Japan, although quite “new,” should begin with the documents, for no aspect of the historical tradition of modern Japan is more striking than the zeal to assemble and publish the texts. It is a trend that began with Hokiichi Hanawa (1745–1822)² and has its most remarkable product in the chronologically arranged series of sources issued by the Tokyo University Historiographical Institute, a project (begun in 1902) that now totals close to four hundred volumes and that shows no signs of slowing down. While our historians prefer to use the sources, and publishers quail before the costs of assembling them, Japanese historians prefer to make them available before drawing on them for analytical treatment. Thus it is typical that little work on the Meiji Restoration preceded the publication of the 186 volumes of papers assembled by the Association for Japanese Historical Sources (*Nihon Shiseki Kyōkai*) between 1915 and 1931. In the United States, despite the considerable volume of American studies of Japan, we have until recently had available only one documentary collection, and that by a Japanese.³

Genten Amerika shi was a decade in preparation. A study group began weekly meetings in 1948 and met over two hundred times before the completion of Volume V, the originally anticipated terminal point (1940) in

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¹ *Genten Amerika shi* [A Documentary History of the American People] (6 vols., Tokyo, 1950, 1951, 1953, 1955, 1957, 1958).

² His *Gunsho ruiju* and its supplement contain 3,373 works arranged chronologically to document Japanese cultural history from antiquity to the Middle Ages, and first appeared in a published edition in Tokyo between 1893 and 1912.

³ Kan'ichi Asakawa, *Documents of Iriki* (New Haven, Conn., 1929), recently joined by the essential work compiled by Ryūsaku Tsunoda et al., *Sources of the Japanese Tradition* (New York, 1958).

1958. Then followed further sessions to add Volume VI, a supplement concerned with America's global interests and postwar adjustments. The first five volumes begin with brief narratives of 89, 67, 86, 57, and 118 pages to introduce the period, but this was omitted for the more controversial and current materials in Volume VI to ensure objectivity. Each document is preceded by a comment to explain its setting and significance. The coverage is varied, and the documents, though edited at times for reasons of length, are given full chance to make their impact. For institutional history, one finds the Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania charters, the Articles of Confederation, the Constitution with virtually all amendments, and a good number of Supreme Court decisions. The religious field includes selections by Thomas Hooker, Jonathan Edwards (whose "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" loses none of its dignity and solemnity in translation), William Channing, and Reinhold Niebuhr; poetry appears with John Greenleaf Whittier ("Ichabod"), Walt Whitman ("Oh, Captain!"); and travelers with Michel de Crèvecoeur, Alexis de Tocqueville, James Bryce. Economic history finds, among others, Captain Williams on land assignment in colonial America, Adam Smith on "Colonies," Alexander Hamilton's Report on Manufactures, much on textiles and tariffs, Henry George, Samuel Gompers, Herbert Hoover's veto of Muscle Shoals, and Franklin Roosevelt's TVA, AAA, and NRA Acts. Altogether this is a rich and varied fare, ending with J. Robert Oppenheimer's "An Inward Look" (*Foreign Affairs*, XXXVI [Jan. 1958], 209-20). The translations, where I have checked them, are carefully done, and the commentary is largely factual and explanatory.

Genten Amerika shi was conceived and carried out by Professor Yasaka Takagi and his associates: Shigeharu Matsumoto, Professor Kenichi Nakaya, Hiroshi Shimizu, Shinzo Kaji, and Moritane Fujiwara. Each volume lists, in addition, at least ten other collaborators. One or two men prepared most of each volume, and the individual responsible for each documentary entry is identified. Among these names are most of the authorities on American history active in the Tokyo area. Many are students of Professor Takagi, whose view of American history and its lessons for Japan is much in evidence. His career provides a useful perspective for the course of American studies in Japan.

In Japan, as elsewhere, enthusiasm for intellectual fare has been related to broader currents of political and international influence and needs. Interest in the United States naturally followed the coming of Commodore Perry's expedition (the correspondence is included in Volume III of the work). In late Tokugawa days one finds the word "republic" translated by

kyōwa, a term full of Confucian overtones of concord and harmony. Washington's refusal to stand for a third term was praised by late Tokugawa writers who compared him to the Chinese sages, and the antiforeign Shintarō Nakaoka found in the Revolution—when “a man named Washington raised an army and drove out the barbarians”—evidence that Japan's problems were not, after all, unique.

In the early Meiji period, the United States provided more than its share of employees for the Meiji government's program of reform, and the enthusiasm for representative institutions also drew on American inspiration, although European constitutional monarchies ultimately seemed more appropriate models. The early school system used numerous American texts in translation,⁴ and Tocqueville was translated as early as 1873 and again in 1881.

Among those who figured in this enthusiasm was Naibu Kanda, Takagi's father, who was sent to the United States in 1871 at the age of fourteen by his foster father.⁵ In 1879 he received his B.A. degree from Amherst College, which influenced the education of prominent Japanese in the early Meiji period. Kanda returned to Japan and devoted his life to education, particularly the teaching of English. Although he performed many tasks of a governmental nature as well, his long-term influence was sharply limited by the government's decision to seek its models in Germany rather than the United States. As the Christian leader Kanzō Uchimura pointed out in his eulogy at Kanda's funeral in 1924, Kanda was the representative of a lost cause. Nevertheless, the lifelong influence of this pioneer of the first enthusiasm for America, a man who had heard Ralph Waldo Emerson speak and who prided himself on his excellent written style in English, inevitably shaped the approach of his son.

The years after World War I brought a renewed interest in things American. Americanisms in speech, cultural fads, and American studies were all by-products of the new liberalism that followed the retirement of the first generation of leaders and the growth of the urban sector that had developed with the industrialization of Japan. Partly to offset the war scares that had marred Japanese-American relations, A. B. Hepburn, a relative of the medical missionary of a generation earlier, offered to support a chair in international law at Tokyo Imperial University. The Japanese countered with the

⁴ Tomitarō Karazawa, “Changes in Japanese Education as Revealed in Textbooks,” *Japan Quarterly*, II (Sept. 1955).

⁵ Autobiographical materials and tributes are brought together in *Memorials of Naibu Kanda* (Tokyo, 1927). The father was Kōhei Kanda (1830–98), a leader in “Western Studies” from the time of Perry.

suggestion that this become a chair in American constitutional law and diplomacy. As no qualified person was at hand, the distinguished academics Tatsukichi Minobe, Sakuzō Yoshino, and Inazō Nitobe began the lectures.⁶

Yasaka Takagi was the candidate selected for the chair. After graduation from Tokyo University, he had entered the Finance Ministry; now, with a position securely his, he turned to what would become his life work. The following four years of study were spent at Amherst, Harvard, and other centers, prior to occupying his chair in 1924. From then until his retirement in 1950 he educated a generation of Japanese students of American thought and institutions. Besides his numerous scholarly contributions, Takagi played a significant role in public affairs. In the 1930's he was among the moderates who sought vainly for restraint at home and understanding abroad.⁷ In the postwar era he was appointed a member of the House of Peers, and he participated in the abortive constitutional revision attempt of Prince Fumimaro Konoe. During his retirement he has made problems of intellectual exchange one of his principal interests; the Fulbright Commission, Grew Foundation, and especially the International House of Japan have been his principal enthusiasms.

Postwar Japan has witnessed a third enthusiasm for American studies, one far more purposeful and productive than the earlier phases. Before and since his retirement Takagi has taken a leading part in this movement. To his earlier scholarship in constitutional development he has added interests in area studies and techniques of cooperative research, as is shown by the documentary history. An American Studies Society was organized in 1947; together with the American Studies Center of St. Paul's (Rikkyō) University, it published *Amerika bunka* (American Civilization). The Studies Society organ, *Amerika kenkyū* (American Studies), however, was abandoned after three years because, in the opinion of its editors, occupation rules against criticism of the United States made its continuation difficult. Thereafter *Genten Amerika shi* became the principal effort of the American Studies Society. Today, after more than a decade of Fulbright and foundation programs and support, and as a result of university reorganizations in Japan, American studies are gradually winning a place of equality on the Japanese academic scene.

Takagi's emphasis on teaching and scholarship is prominent in these

⁶ Makoto Saitō, "Takagi Sensei no Amerika kenkyū" [Professor Takagi's Study of America] in *Gendai America no naisei to gaikō: Takagi Yasaka Sensei koki kinen* [Domestic and Foreign Policy in Contemporary America: In Commemoration of Professor Yasaka Takagi's Seventieth Birthday] (Tokyo, 1959), 371.

⁷ Takagi has described some of these efforts in *Toward International Understanding* (Tokyo, 1954).

volumes. It derives, as his successor, Professor Makoto Saitō, explains,⁸ from an initial emphasis on the importance of the Puritan tradition for the development of American democracy. His experience, and that of his father before him, of New England and his commitment to Christian religion and values guaranteed that the spiritual climate in which democracy was nurtured would receive attention. In the second place, the social interpretation of Frederick Jackson Turner, whose course on the frontier he took, and of Charles Beard results in a strong representation for documents relevant to westward expansion and to reform movements in the nineteenth century (Mark Twain's *Gilded Age*, Henry George, Jane Addams, William Jennings Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech, Thorstein Veblen, Lincoln Steffens, Upton Sinclair, Robert La Follette, and others).

These documents and their study thus represent a lifetime of commitment to the values from which they derive, and they have been assembled as much for their meaning for Japan as for the study of the United States. For Japanese democracy is largely of American origin, and its sacred texts are suggested by the preamble of the postwar constitution with its echoes of the Gettysburg Address. Takagi explains, in his postscript to Volume V, that democracy can never take root in a setting in which attitudes become so polarized that differences cannot be bridged and that extremism and violence make it impossible for people to govern themselves. What is needed, he warns, is the ability to make independent judgments. Impartial study of history and scientific and objective study of the present are thus his aims; for these the study of the sources, made available as in *Genten Amerika shi*, is essential, and it can serve as preparation toward the application of similar exercises in Japan's recent past. It has required a century of modern Japan to give point to this good counsel, and these sentiments are not out of place in the America that first produced these sources.

⁸ Saitō, "Takagi Sensei," 374 ff.

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE MODERN APPROACH TO HISTORY. By *Buddha Prakash*. (Jullundur: University Publishers. 1963. Pp. vi, 373. Rs. 20.)

"TIMELESS India," whose wise and holy men always knew that the temporal world and history were unimportant if not illusory, has now produced its Toynbee. The author of a number of studies of Indian history, Buddha Prakash here looks into all of the major civilizations as he grapples with the fundamental problems of history: the processes of growth and decline, the operation of necessity and freedom, the role of men and movements, and the relations of the individual and society. The "modern" approach as he sees it is one to the history of the human race viewed as a whole, "on the screen of unity, harmony, and synthesis." While admiring Toynbee, he criticizes him for separating his civilizations too sharply and slighting their correlations and basic unity. Prakash also differs from him in taking a more naturalistic, humanistic view of history, and in particular a much more optimistic view of man's prospects. He reads history as a progress toward the goal of the unification of mankind, which will likewise liberate the individual and realize the ideals of human freedom and dignity. Although he recognizes the obvious dangers of catastrophe, he is confident that the end of the "obsolete" attitudes threatening us is "a matter of very short time."

Professionals might not be impressed by this work just because Prakash is exceptionally well read in Western historians, sociologists, anthropologists, and philosophers of history. Innumerable quotations, sometimes strings of them, give it the air of a primer. Another incidental difficulty is that the book teems with typographical errors. (A possibly Freudian slip in the table of contents is a caption about "Marx and Angels.") Otherwise, however, this is a careful, thorough work, and by no means too elementary for laymen, not to mention university students. For the most part Prakash is a sensible guide, more trustworthy than Toynbee. Though contributing little original insight, he keeps a clear head and avoids the schematic tendencies of most of the thinkers he draws on. A disposition possibly to overrate the idealism of India and its dedication to the dignity of man is offset by a sufficient respect for the values of the West, including the science and technology that have made possible the unification of mankind. He spares us the tiresome theme of Hindu spirituality versus Western materialism.

A fairer criticism is his apparently uncertain knowledge of English and American history, reflected in a few curious passages. Much odder, and more serious, is his coupling of Hitler and Toynbee as "the two gifted authorities of western

European culture." Quoting extensively from *The Testament of Adolf Hitler*, Prakash takes him at his word: he was a champion of Europe, especially enamored of the British Empire, who reluctantly resorted to violence in order to preserve the West against the East—together, "the last apostle and martyr to the idea of 'Europe for the Europeans.'" No apostle of totalitarianism himself, Prakash was evidently led to this conclusion by the views of Toynbee and others on the irretrievable decline of Europe. He assumes that Western democracy and capitalism are alike played out, no longer up to preserving individuality.

I therefore suppose that most Westerners will not be simply refreshed by this optimistic voice coming out of India. Prakash is pretty vague, too, about the grounds of his hopes for the future, offering no concrete proposals. But some might be refreshed to read man's history once more as a meaningful development, involving continuity as well as cataclysm, with still some hope of a real future.

Indiana University

HERBERT J. MULLER

THE HISTORIAN AND HISTORY. By *Page Smith*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1964. Pp. viii, 261, x. \$4.95.)

HERE is a crowded little book that deals with most of the great issues of historiography and their major exponents in a critical way—subject of course to the inevitable evils of great compression, especially on the heated controversies of historiography. It begins with a six-chapter historical background showing how the Hebrews transcended mere chronology to create a rich drama (which Smith thinks modern history is lacking) with a meaning, purpose, and direction. The Greeks added scientific detachment (which does not fare too well in the later discussions of objectivity), while Christianity harnessed time by dating events B.C. and A.D.

On modern thought regarding the nature of history, the author shares the current partiality for theological speculations into history, especially for those of Niebuhr and Butterfield. His chapter on "Theologians in Crisis" portrays the shift from an allegedly naïve, optimistic, utopian view held by earlier Protestants to that of the pessimists of neo-orthodoxy who make much else subordinate to the problem of evil in human nature. Niebuhr, who has attracted secular liberals as well as orthodox believers, wrote in *The Irony of American History* that our technocratic culture encouraged the illusion that the mastery of nature was equated to the mastery of human destiny. Butterfield has called for a history that would be based on a more critical examination of human nature and for a reliance upon the Christian perspective.

In discussing the various philosophers of history, Smith notes rightly how little actual history was written by them, but does not draw some of the obvious inferences. Like certain recent writers, he is charmed by the facility of the erratic German, Oswald Spengler, in demonstrating the relationships between the arts and social life, although he rejects the analogy to the life cycle, and he does not

think that Spengler's total writings as a proto-Nazi are relevant to an appreciation of his brilliant insights. As for Toynbee, he believes that the critical academic historians have been unjustly influenced by their mounting indignation at the later volumes which showed an increasingly moralistic and religious spirit at the expense of the empirical.

Social scientists will be unhappy at Smith's exposition of the self-canceling elements in their theory and the sudden eminence of the behavioral sciences. He insists: "History is and must remain pre-eminent among the social sciences for it is history that brings together the results of the inquiries that the various social sciences carry on and shapes them into a comprehensive account related to the course of historic events." Comte of course thought that sociology did this. Even the criteria of objectivity seem meaningless or worse to the author who suggests a better reliance upon such measurements as fairness, honesty, compassion, empathy, and painstaking workmanship.

Taking the case of David Ramsay's book on the Revolution written well over a century ago, Smith points out that this historian (aside from his plagiarisms) did anticipate the chief mid-twentieth-century interpretations. The author in effect denies that historical interpretation progresses toward some higher concept of reality. He then makes a proposal for a twofold division of historical labors: existential history, which is defined as the contemporary, dramatic, and sharply limited episodes of the past such as the American Revolution; and symbolic history, interpretive analysis that has no empirical reality except as a creation of the historian. This latter variety he exemplifies by citing the concept of the Industrial Revolution (a curious example). The first must control the second, subject to obvious errors and biases. Thus it is hoped that historians will remember that historical events have a life of their own.

There are enough controversial historical propositions and assertions for development in a monumental series of books. Many of the observations are enlightening and always stimulating. Since current historical practices and theories are often under attack, professionals may dismiss the more salient ideas as half-truths, unprovable assertions, and subjectivity. Still it is a wholesome exercise to point out the high mortality rate among once proud social and historical theories, as long as it does not undermine the ideal of objectivity and the search for truth through the cooperation of many historians over the ages. It may be safely assumed that the distinguished author of the objective biography of John Adams—a controversial personality—does not minimize the contributions of newer sources and older biographers.

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

THE HISTORIAN AND CHARACTER AND OTHER ESSAYS: COLLECTED AND PRESENTED TO HIM BY HIS FRIENDS, PUPILS AND COLLEAGUES ON THE OCCASION OF HIS RETIREMENT

AS REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE. By *Dom David Knowles*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xxix, 387. \$8.50.)

FRIENDS, pupils, and colleagues have fittingly marked the retirement of Dom David Knowles from the Regius Professorship of Modern History at Cambridge by publishing this group of his own papers. So wide were his interests and so vast his scholarship that the editors must have found the problems of selection difficult. Wisely, I think, they have chosen a dozen pieces that reflect three of the constantly recurring themes of Knowles's major publications: the monastic life, medieval thought in both its theological and humanistic aspects, and modern scholarship as it has touched on those subjects. But the essential unity of the volume is suggested by the title paper, "The Historian and Character," which by its inclusion has come to serve both as the author's inaugural and recessional for the Regius chair. Here he distinguishes between the functions of the biographer and the historian in handling individuals, but the difference is to be found in the public position of the person, not in the method by which he should be treated. Against the anonymity and determinism of much of the history written today, Knowles would reassert the importance of the individual and of value judgments concerning him. Thus at times a "great issue has provoked a clash of characters," or more rarely the character of a single man has decisively "altered a part of the stream of history." In these papers most of the protagonists, and some of the antagonists, are clerics. These include such familiar medieval figures as St. Bernard (in a general appreciation and in an account of his controversy with Peter the Venerable), St. William of York in his long struggle for that see, and Archbishop Thomas Becket in what is called specifically "A Character Study." Others, as Uthred of Bolton, Oxford theologian of Wyclif's time, and John Smart, last abbot of Wigmore, would be known to fewer of Knowles's wide audience of nonspecialists. The modern scholars who appear are also religious: Jean Mabillon, Maurist monk, Cardinal Gasquet, and Edward Cuthbert Butler, long-time member and abbot of Downside. Perhaps a reviewer may be pardoned a personal prejudice in favor of the essay on Mabillon as well as of the quality of his learning and the sweetness of his character. Finally, one may see even in the nonbiographical essays a constant concern for the human equation: "The Humanism of the Twelfth Century" sets a high value "upon the individual," and the hitherto unpublished paper on "The Monastic Buildings of England" is above all a study of the houses in which men lived and worked and died.

The essays, while illustrating the quality of Knowles's learning and thought, afford, too, a fair sampling of his literary style in his mature years, combining in happy fashion clarity of expression and richness of imagery. Many of us will be grateful to the editors for bringing together in convenient form essays and addresses from scattered sources, some not common to the average private library, and those of us who have never had the privilege of knowing Knowles personally are

indebted to Mr. W. A. Platin for providing a curriculum vitae which goes far beyond that ordinarily sterile form precisely because he has enriched the formal biographical data with some appreciation of character much in the spirit of Knowles himself.

University of Chicago

JAMES LEA CATE

INTRODUCTION À L'HISTOIRE DES RELATIONS INTERNATIONALES. By *Pierre Renouvin* and *Jean-Baptiste Duroselle*. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1964. Pp. 520. 38 fr.)

THE first observation, which is suggested by a cursory glance at the table of contents and reinforced by closer examination, concerns the apparent contradiction between the title and the content of this book. One would expect from an "Introduction to the History of International Relations" a chronological outline of the great turning points of diplomatic history or of the movement of ideas, men, and collectivities that have determined its course. This book attempts nothing of the kind. Its orientation is highly unorthodox; it is theoretical rather than chronological. It elucidates, through a wealth of historic material taken primarily from the twentieth century, certain basic theoretical concepts indispensable for an understanding of international relations. By doing so, it shows how thin and, in good measure, artificial the academic distinction between international relations and diplomatic history is.

In the first part Professor Renouvin discusses the "forces profondes" of international relations, such as geography, democracy, economics, the national sentiment, nationalism, and the pacifist sentiment. The treatment is masterful and informative but, at least from the American point of view, conventional.

The second part, for which Professor Duroselle is responsible, concerns itself with the statesman, his personality, his relations to the national interest, the interaction between the "forces profondes" and the statesman, and, finally and most importantly, the nature of the statesman's decision. This is the most brilliant and original part of the book, and it appears to me to be the best piece of work Duroselle has done. His discussion of the typology of statesmen, of the concept of the national interest, and of the irrational character of the political decision, to name only a few examples, combines to a rare degree theoretical insight and historical knowledge. As a historian, Duroselle cannot but be impressed with the essential irrationality of the political decision, which is a function of the complexity of the political world. In consequence, he thinks little of the academic tendency, so widespread in this country, to reduce the complexity of the political world to a series of abstract and rigid, preferably mathematical propositions.

An excellent bibliography supplements the text. At least Duroselle's contribution, covering 170 pages, would serve a most useful purpose if it were published in an English translation.

Chicago, Illinois

HANS J. MORGENTHAU

POWER AND THE PURSUIT OF PEACE: THEORY AND PRACTICE
IN THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES. By F. H.*Hinsley.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. 416. \$6.95.)

THIS scholarly and judicious analysis of modern international relations focuses on two developments aimed especially at the maintenance of world peace. The first comprises the evolution of ideas and organizations designed to substitute reason and argument for force or the threatened use of force in affairs between nations. The second entails the actual establishment of modern diplomatic practice and centers in detail on the European congresses and conferences that were held intermittently from the Congress of Vienna until the end of the nineteenth century. Pushing both tendencies—that toward the continued reliance on power and that toward the continued search for substitutes—into the twentieth century, the author dwells on the coming of two world wars and the efforts of two international organizations, the League of Nations and the United Nations, to keep the peace. The effort is ambitious, the results rewarding.

That the present century, despite the magnitude of its intellectual effort, has merely elaborated on concepts of international relations promulgated as early as the eighteenth century this volume makes painfully clear. The author demonstrates, moreover, that peace has been achieved at times not by ideas or ideals, embodied in international law, courts of arbitration, or international organization, but by the existence of stability in the distribution of power among nations. It was for the latter reason, he writes, that Europe after 1815 was permitted a century of peaceful adjustment, with rare resort to force. Even the occasional wars, such as the Crimean War, were conducted halfheartedly, as if the nations involved agreed that they should have done better. Hinsley's analysis of the league's failure is both perceptive and challenging. Its originators, he argues, could never discover how nations, whether acting bilaterally or multilaterally, could alter the political and territorial *status quo* without resort to force. Whether to uphold the Versailles system or to change it the league required force. It failed because it was never able to command power for either objective. Eventually the great democracies resorted to national diplomacy where they could engineer their own retreats while the league languished and ultimately collapsed. The UN Charter, the author continues, attempted to overcome the institutional infirmities of the league by concentrating control in the hands of the Great Powers. This purpose faltered when the United States and the USSR failed to agree. The eighteen years of relative peace after 1945 the writer attributes less to nuclear parity than to the new atmosphere of responsibility among the major powers, the new stability achieved by the maturing of the United States and the Soviet Union as full members of the international community, and the unlikelihood of accidental war.

This impressive volume's major contribution lies essentially in the areas of synthesis and criticism, not in the presentation of a succession of new elements in the continuing struggle for peace. No volume of such broad scope could be more

than partially original, and the author need apologize to no one for his detailed and thoughtful examination of the past. His arguments at times appear unmindful of the fact that other historians have long ago rejected the notions that he attacks. This is true, for example, of his evaluation of the German problem prior to 1914 and again after 1933. Yet the restatement of even widely accepted interpretations, especially when based on sound and sometimes original materials, contributes enormously to the historic record itself. The author's judgments are always useful. This is an important book, even an essential one, for a profession that has written so much and said so little about the true nature of foreign policy and relations among national states.

University of Illinois

NORMAN A. GRAEBNER

IMPERIALISM: THE STORY AND SIGNIFICANCE OF A POLITICAL WORD, 1840-1960. By *Richard Koebner* and *Helmuth Dan Schmidt*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xxv, 432. \$12.50.)

"IMPERIALISM is no word for scholars." But in the hands of polemicists the word has become an epithet rather than a symbol; it is redolent of evil, of man's inhumanity to man. This volume by the late Richard Koebner and his long-time associate H. D. Schmidt traces the changing implications of the word from the early nineteenth century to the present. Essentially it is a continuation of Koebner's work on *Empire*, published posthumously in 1961. Schmidt wrote the present work on the basis of Koebner's voluminous notes and his own study of twentieth-century material; the account of the recent past is entirely Schmidt's.

Like the previous book, *Imperialism* reflects great erudition. Koebner sifted through a tremendous mass of material published in English, German, and French books and periodicals. The result is a study that must be read by students of imperialism even though it suffers from heaviness of style and a lack of acquaintance with recent works that might have modified some judgments.

The semantic approach to the study of "imperialism" requires of its exponent not only infinite patience and industry in his search for changing nuances but great sophistication in his understanding of the social context that produced these nuances. Judged by that standard, this work is a qualified success. Koebner and Schmidt have cut across the established lines of national specialism and have seen the phenomenon in broad perspective. They demonstrate that "imperialism" first came into use in the English language as a pejorative word referring to the empire of Louis Napoleon. It was not initially related to the British Empire. The word was applied to British expansion when Gladstone and the Liberals were attacking Disraeli's overseas adventures in the late 1870's. But the slogan took on its modern connotations as a result of Hobson's indictment of the alleged exploitation of the world by finance capitalism. Before World War I, anti-imperialists used the Boer War as the classic illustration of capitalism in its imperialist stage, and Britain was the great imperialist. The authors, like many other scholars, demolish Hobson,

but point out that "scholarly criticism was unable to prevent the forming of an international *communis opinio* for which economic imperialism has become an accepted fact." The acceptance of this stereotype has had great influence in former dependencies, in the Communist world, and in the West itself. The authors maintain that the identification of the West with imperialism gave shape to Communist concepts of the background against which their new world would emerge, contributed to mutual distrust among America, Europe, and the British Empire, and inspired and embittered national movements in Asia and Africa.

Since Great Britain came to be regarded as the archetype of imperialism, it is appropriate that most of the book should be devoted to the analysis of British attitudes toward empire and imperialism. In this aspect the book seems somewhat old-fashioned, reflecting points of view that were current a few years ago but that have been challenged by recent scholarship. But this reservation does not change the verdict that this is an important book that commands attention.

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN S. GALBRAITH

CHINA AND THE WEST, 1858-1861: THE ORIGINS OF THE TSUNGLI YAMEN. By *Masataka Banno*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 15.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 367, xlv. \$7.50.)

THE establishment of the Tsung-li Yamen in 1861 was a significant first step in the reluctant accommodation of China to the Western world. "Ending the traditional principle of inequality between the Chinese empire and all other states, which had been institutionalized in the tribute system," the *Tsung-li k'o-kuo shih-wu ya-men* (ordinarily called the Tsung-li Yamen) was created "to be a central organ for foreign affairs and [to] deal with the Western diplomats who now, for the first time in China's history, were to take up permanent residence in the capital." Professor Banno of the Tokyo Metropolitan University has brought together in this book the results of more than a decade of his research on "diplomatic institutions, ideas, and activities as they intervened between domestic politics and foreign affairs" from the mid-1850's to 1861.

The early chapters discuss the demands of Western diplomats for permanent residence in Peking and Chinese opposition to it, culminating in the Treaties of Tientsin (1858); the conflict within the Chinese government and bureaucracy between those who were ready to go to war to resist this and other Western demands and those whose dealings with foreigners had convinced them that the unequal strength of the two sides made war an impossible recourse for China; and the actual conduct of Chinese foreign relations during the year after these treaties were signed. Chapter iv is devoted to Sino-Russian negotiations in Peking from December 1858 to May 1860, and Chapter v to the peace negotiations in Peking after the Anglo-French invasion of the capital in the fall of 1860. The two final chapters describe the abrupt change in the relations between Prince Kung and other high officials in the capital and the diplomats of Great Britain and France follow-

ing the signing of the Peking Conventions on October 24 and 25 and the prompt establishment of the Tsung-li Yamen.

Banno has covered both published and unpublished documentary sources of the British, French, American, and Imperial Chinese governments with great thoroughness and perspicacity. His analysis of this short period not only clears up much of the misunderstanding that clings to early Chinese relations with the Western Powers but also helps explain the behavior of most Chinese officials and literati toward foreigners during subsequent decades. For a somewhat less thorough, but no less useful, study of the organization, operation, and influence of the Tsung-li Yamen from its foundation until it was replaced in 1901, one may turn to S. M. Meng, *The Tsungli Yamen: Its Organization and Functions* (1962).

Cornell University

KNIGHT BIGGERSTAFF

THE PHILIPPINES AND THE UNITED STATES: PROBLEMS OF PARTNERSHIP. By *George E. Taylor*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1964. Pp. x, 325. \$6.95.)

TAYLOR designed his study "to clarify the alternatives . . . open to the United States in the very special relationship that exists between the two countries." While the volume is intended to assist the formulation of American policies toward the Philippines, it evades the snares that entrap many books of this genre by avoiding overemphasis on United States interests and shunning contemporary superficialities. Drawing heavily on recent scholarship together with the results of discussions by an impressive study group, Taylor divides his analysis into two equal sections. Part I surveys the development of historical factors, with emphasis on social and economic phenomena, from the Spanish period through the hypercritical year 1950. Part II examines joint Filipino-American efforts since then to carry out a "social revolution" in the islands.

The first section constitutes an excellent and frequently provocative overview of Philippine history. Filipino nationalists, Taylor declares, must live with the fact that "a foreign power . . . carried out their revolution for them." In his examination of a dynamic but contradictory colonial policy, he praises the self-liquidating political aims of the United States, but criticizes economic programs that produced an overdependence on American markets and industry while contributing to the perpetuation of oligarchic control by traditionally oriented landed interests. Above all, the United States either ignored or refused to grapple with the agrarian sector of the economy. This failure undermined the basic effort to create a healthy, democratic society.

In only two admittedly difficult areas, the origins of the *Hukbalahap* and the issue of wartime collaboration, does Taylor's consistently detached treatment begin to break down. Here his oversimplifications are perhaps due to the demands of brevity in a work of this type, but they might result from a tendency to project the seeming clarities of the cold war back into the chaos of the early 1940's.

He ignores the turbulent heritage of indigenous protest that contributed to the birth of the *Hukbalahap* and points to the war as a triangular struggle for control of the islands between the United States, Japan, and the Soviet Union. This view of wartime conditions leads him to straddle the complex collaboration question. He lumps all prominent *Nacionalistas* who cooperated with the Japanese into one group and concludes that their actions "helped save democratic institutions . . . by preventing the polarization of politics."

Taylor is at his best in the examination of socioeconomic factors. Unlike many students of diplomacy, he takes the intricacies of Philippine social structure into account and copes with the underlying web of an all-pervasive kinship system. He is clear on the elements that contribute to the fundamental issue in the contemporary Philippines: the conflict between modernity and tradition. His primary recommendation to American policy makers is that the United States do everything it legitimately can to support and expand the power and influence of the middle class. Above all, Filipino intellectuals—whom he defines broadly "as carriers of the new, as distinct from the traditional values"—must be won to the moderate position. The primary task he sets for American diplomats in partnership with a new generation of Filipino leaders is to ensure the avoidance of violent extremes in the quest for solutions to social ills.

The author's cleanly written volume carries the stamp of mature scholarship and constitutes an excellent addition to a distinguished series.

Muskingum College

DAVID R. STURTEVANT

THE UNITED STATES AND THE FAR EASTERN CRISIS OF 1933-1938:
FROM THE MANCHURIAN INCIDENT THROUGH THE INITIAL
STAGE OF THE UNDECLARED SINO-JAPANESE WAR. By *Dorothy
Borg*. [Harvard East Asian Series, Number 14.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 674. \$10.00.)

AMERICAN Far Eastern policy in the decade from Mukden to Pearl Harbor has been extensively mined at either end of the time period but until now not in the middle. The middle years witnessed Japan's assertion of a predominant role in the Far East, the collapse of the Pacific treaty system, the unification of China on the single theme of resistance to further Japanese encroachment, and the start of China's long, bloody war for independence. These revolutionary events jeopardized important interests and policies of the United States and its position as a Far Eastern power. The reaction of the Roosevelt administration to these threats is the subject of Miss Borg's study.

American policy makers, it seems, worked very hard at standing still. Stimsonian heroics gave way to bland note writing and sermonets on international ethics. Far from championing China's independence, the United States acquiesced in Japanese expansion. Assistance to China was restricted to what Japan would find unobjectionable. The persistent concern was to prevent worsening of rela-

tions with Japan. Just as persistently, however, the United States avoided positive steps to improve relations with Japan for fear of condoning past aggression or violation of the treaty order. The critical months after Marco Polo Bridge, to which nearly half the book is devoted, brought no essential change of policy. There was less concern for appeasing Japan, sharper protest, more pointed invocation of moral principles, more active search for alternatives, but still the same reliance on moral suasion rather than force, the same unwillingness to take the lead or get involved, the same dead hand of isolationism.

A distinction should be made between the conduct of diplomacy and conceptions of national interest. Unquestionably, milk-toast diplomacy prevailed, as Borg amply demonstrates, but this does not necessarily mean that Roosevelt was looking toward a retreat in the Pacific, as she seems to imply. His insistence on maintaining the five to three naval ratio suggests on the contrary that he intended to maintain the American position as a Far Eastern power. The "equality of security" argument is specious; two-fifths preponderance meant in fact a navy capable of fighting in the Western Pacific. Japan's north China advance may have been of less concern than its huge naval budgets and so-called "southward advance" policy. Further investigation of relations with the colonial powers of Southeast Asia, of the problem of Philippine independence, and of naval and air strategy may show that the administration was playing for time until American will and power matched its assumptions about American interests.

As it is, the documentation of the book is immensely rich. The State Department archives yielded an absorbing chapter on American official views of the Chinese Communists. The proceedings and evidence of the Tokyo War Crimes Trials form the basis for an excellent account of the American role in the failure of mediation in the fall of 1937. It is disappointing how little the Hyde Park papers reveal of the President's mind. The higher the official, the less he puts on paper. We have the environment of policy decisions more than the decision making itself. The Roosevelt, Grew, Moffat, and Davis collections and the *Foreign Relations* series form the core of evidence, surrounded by an array of published documents, periodicals, newspapers, and secondary sources that together make this an indispensable guide to the period. This craftsmanlike, fair-minded, even-tempered book makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of what surely is one of the most exasperating periods in the history of American foreign policy.

Johns Hopkins University

WALDO H. HEINRICH, JR.

Ancient and Medieval

DUMBARTON OAKS PAPERS. Number 17. (Washington, D. C.: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University; distrib. by J. J. Augustin, Publisher, Locust Valley, N. Y. 1963. Pp. xviii, 405. \$12.00.)

THIS volume, the largest yet of the series, includes a brilliant array of valuable

studies. It begins with six of the nine papers read at a memorable symposium on "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Civilization" held at Dumbarton Oaks on May 3-5, 1962. In the first of these, A. H. M. Jones gives a pungent sketch of "The Greeks under the Roman Empire." Next, Moses Hadas characterizes "Hellenistic Literature" in a richly illustrated survey, followed by a polished and perceptive essay on "The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Literature," in which Romilly J. H. Jenkins suggests both the limitations and the consequences of those origins. Proceeding to art, Cyril Mango's "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder" asserts that in this realm the Byzantines were not so sensitive, appreciative, or conserving as they were in other areas of their cultural heritage. In a slightly expanded version of his original paper on "Hellenistic Art" George M. A. Hanfmann, despite the limitations of his brief format, endeavors "to seek out what was and what was not of interest to Byzantine artists with some intimation of what I conceive to be some of the essential traits of Hellenistic art." Following this is Ernst Kitzinger's essay on "The Hellenistic Heritage in Byzantine Art." Laboring under similar spatial restrictions, it pursues the extensions, transformations, or abandonment of themes and characteristics—those sketched in the preceding paper—in the development of the Byzantine artistic tradition. Finally, in addition to these six papers, the volume includes as the last of its "Notes" a brief report by Jenkins on the main outlines of the symposium, based on his own concluding remarks as its director. Noting the repeated emphases on Byzantine divergence from the Hellenistic heritage, he suggests: "The general result of the lectures had been, rather surprisingly, to illustrate the decline and fossilization, rather than the survival and vigor, of the Hellenistic tradition during the Middle Ages."

The remaining contents, approximately half of the volume, are of characteristic diversity. The late Ernst Kantorowicz' probing essay "Oriens Augusti—Lever du Roi" demonstrates what we have lost now that his lamented death has deprived us of an intended series of such studies on imperial and royal symbolism from the late Roman period through successive eras. In his massive study of "The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources," Irving Lavin considers mosaic evidence for the stylistic development in "the great lacuna . . . between the destruction of Pompeii in A.D. 79 and the commencement of the Christian tradition in the fourth century." With his valuable discussion of "Byzantine Δημοκρατία and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," Speros Vryonis, Jr., raises important questions about guild organization in the broad Byzantine context, as well as in relation to medieval Latin, Arabic, and Turkish institutions. In the last of the full-scale papers, Mango gives the background and the text of "The Conciliar Edict of 1166," Manuel I's inscription discovered in 1959.

Among the "Notes" Jenkins further contributes "A Note on the 'Letter to the Emir' of Nicholas Mysticus," adding new observations to his previous discussion of this text. Semari Eyice discusses "Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia," respectively in İznik (Nicaea) and Bursa, in their own right and in relation to other Byzantine types. Kurt Weitzmann and Ihor Ševčenko analyze the design and

inscription of "The Moses Cross at Sinai," an interesting product of the sixth century. Perhaps the most provocative material in the five "Notes," however, is in Arthur H. S. Megaw's "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1960-1962." Among the results of work at the Fenar Isa Camii (Monastery of Constantine Lips), the Fethiya Camii (Pammakaristos), and the South Church of the Zeyrek Camii (Pantokrator), were the discoveries, at the last of these, of extensive fragments of various kinds, especially of window glass from the original Comnenian church of the 1120's. Supplemented by the institute's previous discovery of even earlier glass work at the Kariye Camii (Chora), these fragments open exciting speculation as to direct Byzantine influence on the development of stained glass window technique in the Latin West.

As always in these volumes, the appropriate articles are richly illustrated with extensive plates, mainly in monochrome.

University of Wisconsin

JOHN W. BARKER

LA HANSE (XII^e-XVII^e SIÈCLES). By *Philippe Dollinger*. [Collection historique.] (Paris: Aubier, Éditions Mouton. 1964. Pp. 559.)

THE French have great talent for writing *manuels*, a term imperfectly translated by the word "textbooks." Professor Dollinger's book is another successful example of a *manuel*, a work of synthesis aimed at both the serious student and the general reader who wishes to be well informed and to keep abreast of research in the historical field. The book, moreover, fills a gap. The author, an Alsatian, is thoroughly familiar with the numerous publications that the *Hansischer Geschichtsverein*, with untiring zeal, has devoted to the history of the Hanseatic League. As a synthesis, the book has no match either in French or in English; even in German I think it has no rival since it is superior in comprehensiveness, accuracy, emphasis, and up-to-date information to Karl Pagel's *Die Hansa* (2d ed., 1952), which was criticized for giving antiquated interpretations and having lacunae. True, Dollinger reveals nothing new, but it would have been difficult to do so since he did not attempt to go to the sources and since the German scholars have done such a thorough job in their many monographs. New facts will certainly turn up and change somewhat the prevailing interpretations. Meanwhile, however, Dollinger offers a satisfactory *status questionis* on most problems.

His book covers six hundred years of Hanseatic history from the twelfth century, when the Hanse had its modest beginnings as a guild of German merchants frequenting the island of Gotland, to 1669, when the delegates of the Hanseatic towns assembled for the last time to bury the league rather than to keep it alive. The league reached its apex of power and prestige in the fourteenth century when it controlled most of the Baltic trade, held Scandinavia in economic subjection, and was able to engage in successful wars, embargoes, and boycotts in order to maintain its monopoly and enforce its policies. The author deals not only with the

political vicissitudes and the economic policies of the league; he also considers the institutional framework, such as business organization and markets, social problems and conflicts, the struggle between the merchants and craft guilds for control of the town governments, and even the emergence of a common Low German culture, although the league did not consciously promote arts or literature. The causes of the league's decline are carefully and critically analyzed.

As Dollinger correctly emphasizes, even the expression Hanseatic League is a misnomer. The Hanseatic towns never actually formed a league (*Bund* in German); at best the so-called Hanseatic League was a loose alliance of north German and Baltic towns for the defense of their trade privileges abroad. As late as 1473 the delegates of the Hanseatic towns assembled in Utrecht disclaimed being a corpus except in so far as their trade privileges in particular countries were concerned.

No footnote references are given except to some fifty well-selected documents published in translation as an appendix. Each chapter, however, is provided with a select bibliography. Perhaps this book should be translated into English and be made available to students in a paperback edition.

Brooklyn College

RAYMOND DE ROOVER

Modern Europe

PREACHING IN ENGLAND IN THE LATE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES: A STUDY OF ENGLISH SERMONS 1450-C. 1600. By J. W. *Blench*. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1964. Pp. xv, 378. \$10.00.)

SCHOLARS and teachers who have been using the late G. R. Owst's books on preaching in medieval England these many years should heartily welcome Mr. *Blench's* book, for it takes up the story where Owst left off and carries it through the changes of the sixteenth century to the relative equilibrium and maturity of the opening of the seventeenth century. *Blench* has a wide and thorough command of the necessary materials, both printed and in manuscript, both in Latin and in the vernacular. Since he is making a period study of changing styles in sermons in order to get some idea of the changes in spiritual climate, he is necessarily committed to a fairly rigid organization of materials within his chapters. For each chapter he uses four divisions: "The Pre-Reformation Catholic Preachers, including the Conservative Henricians (1450-1547)"; "The Early Reformers (1547-1553)"; "The Preachers of Mary's Reign (1553-1558)"; "The Elizabethan Preachers (1558-1603)."

Blench's analysis on the literary side is, in general, a happy and a suggestive one. His first chapter deals with "Scriptural Interpretation," particularly the changes that took place in the use of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture

(the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical) that had come down from the time of the fathers. The late medieval preachers stressed the allegorical, devoting their efforts to the elucidation of the "spiritual" meaning of the Bible passage, while the Reformers put their stress on the literal meaning. In spite of his sympathy with the Reformers, Blench recognizes that the allegorical approach in the hands of a learned, and it might be added, intelligent, preacher could produce apt and even beautiful moral directions and that some "accommodations" in Reformed preaching approached the excesses of the old type of allegorizing.

The second chapter is devoted to "Form (Dispositio)." The pre-Reformation preachers used two forms of development: the ancient and the modern. The ancient, lacking any elaborate scheme of arrangement, concentrated on the explication and application of a scriptural passage, or "the topical treatment of any subject, according to reason and Scripture." The modern form was a more elaborately developed one, showing the influence of Aristotelian logic rather than of the classical oration.

The third chapter deals with "Style (Elocutio)." For the period of this study there were three styles involved: the plain, but uncolloquial; the colloquial; and the ornate. The plain style was used by the preacher to the learned as well as to the populace. The early Reformers concentrated on the plain and the colloquial style. In Mary's reign there were examples of all three styles, but the ornate flourished; in Elizabeth's reign there was a wide variety from the austere plain style of the extreme Puritans to the fully ornate, classical style of Hooker.

The fourth chapter treats "The Use of Classical Allusion." Naturally, the unlearned made little use of classical allusion. The learned among the pre-Reformation preachers made considerable use of classical allusions but in the unhistoric medieval manner. Among Elizabethan preachers there was an occasional appreciation of the classic spirit, but most used classic allusions in the old medieval way.

The fifth chapter discusses "Themes." Necessarily, in the scheme of the book, this must be pretty summary. The disappearance of the morbid treatment of the transiency of earthly things is noted, and so is the appearance of the often bitter attack on Catholicism as the Reformers take over. But many of the old abuses that the pre-Reformation preachers complained of are still found in the Elizabethan Church, and many of the old social complaints are still made, as well as some new ones. But the author finds in the preaching of Hooker and Andrewes a new wholesomeness of tone.

Like the fifth chapter, the sixth undertakes more than it can really carry through within the limits of this book, but the author certainly makes his case for "The Influence of Sermon Themes on Poetry and Drama." This might be a very good subject for further exploration by scholars who can make this their main business.

The book is abundantly illustrated with substantial extracts from the sermons of the time; it concludes with a wide-ranging bibliography of sermons of the period, a bibliography of modern critical literature on preaching of the period, and

a helpful index. Altogether it is a book of great value for students of the history and the literature of the era it treats.

University of Wisconsin

HELEN C. WHITE

ELIZABETHAN TASTE. By *John Buxton*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 370. \$7.95.)

IN this urbane book the author has essayed the peculiarly difficult task of dealing with a concept of which, as he points out, the Elizabethans were themselves quite unaware. The very notion of taste was one foreign to men living in a divinely ordered and purposeful universe, itself not susceptible of merely subjective judgments. Nevertheless, as the author makes clear, they had clear-cut and sophisticated standards (although never merely aesthetic ones) by which to judge performance in the arts, and these standards fitted into a coherent and comprehensive pattern.

Mr. Buxton has proceeded by a series of essays, the first of which is an accomplished survey of the whole problem. While covering much familiar ground, it is fresh, lucid, and eminently judicious. He follows the introduction with essays on architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, and concludes with a longer section on literature, subdivided into essays on the Elizabethan appreciation of Chaucer and on works of Spenser, Sidney, Shakespeare, and Donne. His central concern in this last section is with *The Shepheardes Calender*, the *Arcadia*, *Astrophel and Stella*, and *Venus and Adonis*. These four works he chooses for their great popularity with contemporaries and uses in order to explore the taste to which they were successfully attuned. The essay on *Hamlet* is slighter in character.

What the author achieves is a successful exploration in those obscure and treacherous marches where the history of the arts, of ideas, and of social patterns all meet. Without saying anything especially new about any one of these areas, he yet contrives to make each subject illuminate the other in a very satisfactory way. He writes with precision and anchors each generalization with copious and well-chosen evidence, indeed, with a wealth of useful information. The whole array of the arts is brought in view; yet the book never bogs down in mere catalogue, but remains fresh and stimulating in each chapter.

In one sense the work may be regarded as an extended exploration of the whole concept of the English Renaissance since the author must necessarily examine in detail contemporary reactions in all the arts to classical models and to the medieval past. With sure hand and expert judgment he emphasizes throughout the self-confident buoyancy that enabled Englishmen to strike a balance between the admired classical (and continental) models and their own national inheritance. In most of the arts (sculpture least of all), while freely drawing upon both sources—neither repudiating their own past nor slavishly imitating their new-found exemplars—they were able to create their own bold and original style with sureness and ease.

This is a sane and balanced book, displaying the particular virtue—so important in a work on this subject—of never wandering from its focus on contemporary Elizabethan standards of taste, never slipping into a patronizing amusement or veiled contempt for a world so different from ours, and always striving honestly to penetrate the rationale behind their choices. The book has the additional virtue of being written for an audience drawn from the whole scholarly world, not merely for a specialized segment of it.

Haverford College

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY

THE CATHOLIC LAITY IN ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND, 1558–1603.

By *William Raleigh Trimble*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 290. \$6.25.)

THE decline of Roman Catholicism in England in the sixteenth century is a story full of tragedy and suffering. Proscribed by the state under Queen Elizabeth, the ancient faith of Englishmen went down, and its professors found themselves caught in a cruel conflict of sovereignties between their prince and their pope. Much is known about the English Catholic clergy at this time: their seminaries abroad, their propaganda, their missionary activity (and sometimes plots) amongst their countrymen. The laity has been studied less, though the survival of Catholicism in England depended on its fidelity under persecution. Dr. Trimble has now undertaken to deal with this latter subject in detail. His purpose is to investigate the reaction of Catholic laymen to governmental pressures and also to analyze their social and economic status. He has set about his task with commendable industry, and while he offers no new or surprising conclusions, he provides a helpful survey of the changing condition of the Catholic laity over the crucial Elizabethan years when the fate of English Catholicism was permanently decided.

No one can say how many Catholics there were in 1558 and in 1603. What is clear is that between these dates Catholicism ceased to be the religion of the majority of Englishmen and became that of a minority. Yet its geographical incidence was very diverse, and, as Trimble's work shows, its survival was determined by a number of factors, including the attitude of local authorities, the prevalence of Catholic beliefs in families with territorial influence, the extent of governmental supervision from the capital, and the availability of priests. The Elizabethan regime did not concern itself with the Catholic's inner convictions. It required an external conformity to the Established Church and could and did punish him for refusing to give it. (Trimble also seems to suggest that Catholics were pressed to take the Anglican Communion, but does not explain how this could have been demanded, since the Act of Uniformity required only attendance at the Anglican service). It carefully kept Catholics under surveillance and in times of national danger ordered the confinement of the more prominent laymen. Subjected to fines and harassment, many of the laity passed into the Anglican

Church. This process must have been facilitated by the circumstance that at least until 1580 Catholics were not under any authoritative instruction to refrain from attending Anglican services. Even after this date it appears to have been a question of some dispute amongst them as to how far conscience obliged them to avoid the Anglican service and incur the consequent penalties. As the author makes plain, however, whatever their difficulties, the great body of lay Catholics were loyal to the Queen. Neither the rebellion of 1569, the papal excommunication of Elizabeth, nor the war with Spain induced disaffection among them. One might therefore wish to conclude that dynastic and national attachment triumphed over religious conviction. This, however, would be somewhat misleading. It would be more correct to say that the laymen who remained Catholic shunned the dilemma of a divided allegiance and contrived to believe that adherence to the Queen and to their faith were compatible.

Trimble's chapter on the social and economic status of the laity is the least satisfactory part of his work. The subject is of considerable interest, but the treatment is unequal to its complexity. The omission of the Catholic peers in a study of the laity's wealth is difficult to understand. The greatest shortcoming, however, is that the sources among the state papers on which Trimble has exclusively relied cannot be trusted as a guide to the wealth of Catholic families. For instance, a list of 406 recusants in 25 counties drawn up in 1586 gives the largest income of any Catholic as £1,000 per year. How inaccurate this is likely to be may be seen from the case of the Northamptonshire knight, Sir Thomas Tresham, whom Trimble tends to classify as one of the lesser gentry. The Tresham family has recently been studied by Mary E. Finch in *The Wealth of Five Northamptonshire Families, 1540-1640* (Northamptonshire Record Society, XIX, 1956, Chap. iv), and here a very different picture emerges. Between 1580 and 1590 Sir Thomas Tresham's income was about £3,500 per year. The Treshams, in fact, were a rich family of the upper gentry, eventually impoverished because of incompetent offspring and the heavy burden of debt arising from recusancy fines. There can be little doubt that the 1586 list is incorrect in respect to other Catholic gentlemen as well. This suggests that an accurate appraisal of the fortunes of families at this period must be based where possible on estate and family documents; other sources will be insufficient and may be dangerously misleading.

McGill University

PEREZ ZAGORIN

A WHIG IN POWER: THE POLITICAL CAREER OF HENRY PELHAM.

By *John W. Wilkes*. [Northwestern University Studies in History, Number 3.] ([Evanston, Ill.:] Northwestern University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 298. \$7.50.)

Most students of English history find it difficult to gain a very clear picture of English political leadership in the years between Walpole's retirement and the advent of the Elder Pitt. Next to these robust and well-reported personalities, even

the outstanding politicians of the period tend to appear almost insignificant. Professor Wilkes has sought to clarify the situation by giving us a detailed account of the political career of Henry Pelham, First Lord of the Treasury from 1743 to 1754. Pelham, he concludes, was a major politician, fully worthy of being regarded as Prime Minister. His findings are based on extensive research, particularly in British manuscript collections, the Newcastle and Hardwicke Papers looming especially large in the bibliography.

Pelham's career is developed under three headings: "The Period of Training," lasting to about 1744; "Ministerial Establishment under Wartime Conditions"; and "The Domination of Henry Pelham," covering the six years between Aix-la-Chapelle and Pelham's death. The fullest treatment is given to the middle section. The author reviews the principal problems confronting the Pelham cabinet and appraises Pelham's contributions to their solution. His examination of Pelham's relations with other ministers and governmental functionaries illuminates the practical workings of mid-eighteenth-century government, as do his investigations of the First Lord's leadership in Commons and electioneering tactics.

Wilkes dates Pelham's ascendancy over the cabinet from 1744, when Granville was forced out, and clearly sees him as its dominating force by 1747. In these years, however, Pelham "was never ready to insist on complete authority, as Walpole had done." Later, in the peacetime years, a more all-embracing personal control was developed: "until the very day of his death Pelham actively controlled his government and determined its course of action—and he did it alone whenever he desired." Wilkes gives Pelham full credit for the extraordinary calmness and stability of the 1748–1754 period, citing his "careful balancing" of groups within the cabinet and his managerial skill in launching new measures. He regards Pelham's administration of the Treasury as "extremely successful in both war and peace" and views his reform of the national finances as one of his two major contributions, claiming that in this area he outdid both Walpole and the Younger Pitt. The other contribution he sets down as Pelham's conviction "that party politics must not be carried to such lengths that the king's service (England's national policy) should suffer." He also credits Pelham with an awareness of the need for the "Diplomatic Revolution" a decade before the actual realignment occurred.

Pelham does not emerge very distinctly as a person in these pages. This doubtless stems to some extent from the character of the man himself, though in part the literary style and organization of the author may be to blame. The work, however, is not offered as a biography. Specialists in the tangled history of Georgian government and politics will find it useful.

University of Wisconsin

WILLIAM L. SACHSE

TEMPORAL PILLARS: QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY, THE ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS, AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. By

G. F. A. Best. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 582. \$12.50.)

Mr. Best's comprehensive study in social history, on the foundation and development of Queen Anne's Bounty established in 1704 and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners created in 1836 (amalgamated in 1948), sets forth in ample detail how church reform motivated and eventually provided a modest improvement in Anglican stipends by, as an English reviewer has put it, robbing "Peter to pay Paul."

Best's detailed account upholds the findings of an earlier study by Alan Savidge in showing that *The Bounty of Queen Anne for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy* was what its title indicates: "a charitable foundation based on the generosity of a queen who restored to the Church certain revenues obtained from a tax on benefices." No reassessment of rates was made when the bounty was enacted, and so larger resources for the Church of England did not result. The bounty, therefore, was an essentially modest effort to help the country clergy, especially the impoverished, married curates whose poverty led to their downgrading in eighteenth-century public opinion.

The scale of the bounty was not large enough to solve the inequities of clerical stipends, but it was generally honestly administered and so added to the endowment of poor benefices and attracted lay gifts to the Church. It developed eventually in a direction probably beyond the intention of its founder and advisers to become a mainstay of the administrative institutions of the Church of England.

The Church of England was largely reshaped in the nineteenth century. Its relations with the British Parliament, as Dr. Brose's *Church and Parliament* pointed out, were subjected to successive pressures, producing crises that were only dealt with piecemeal as each pressure became acute. Politically Sir Robert Peel and ecclesiastically Bishop Bloomfield achieved a breathing period for the Church in relation to the state by rejecting theory and accepting actuality. They fitted the Established Church of Victorian England into the entirely new conditions of the industrial age because they accepted what it was possible for them to achieve, namely "an inalienable claim to the Ecclesiastical property." Peel rightly promoted an administrative church house cleaning in the interest of increased efficiency which was symbolized by the Ecclesiastical Commission.

An excellent social historian, Best makes his readers aware of the changing social status of the Anglican clergy. Adequate stipends for impoverished curates and rectors had to come from either the tax rates, the income of wealthier clergy, or freewill gifts. The bounty drew from public monies, while the commission devised by Peel reassessed the richer clergy to aid the poor. In essence, both organizations transferred heavy local endowments to new, or growing, city parishes. The cathedral chapters, in particular, were stripped of much wealth to help the newer parishes.

Thus, as Best points out, the commissioners were the principal, if clumsy, agents of ecclesiastical reform and change, instrumental in adapting the Church of

England to the Industrial Revolution. The development of their organism of the "Victorian Establishment" was often painful, ill-understood, and unpopular. Moreover, while not often downright inefficient, it had its share of nepotism, speculation, and even embezzlement. Designed perhaps to prevent the reorganization of the Church of England along logical principles, or disestablishment, it made it possible to retain the old framework, a union of church and state in England.

Sweet Briar College

ANNE G. PANNELL

THE AGE OF EQUIPOISE: A STUDY OF THE MID-VICTORIAN GENERATION. By *W. L. Burn*. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1964. Pp. 340. \$7.50.)

It is curious, perhaps, that the High Victorian Age of the 1850's and 1860's should have attracted so few serious interpreters. For one thing, the influence of Dicey's chapter has been exceedingly pervasive, and historians have tended simply to subscribe to his stereotype of a "Period of Benthamism or Individualism." The student has learned to dismiss these decades (save for the Crimean War) as an era of calm, stability, prosperity, and national self-satisfaction.

Obviously such judgments are not without substance, but just as obviously they stand badly in need of critical analysis and refinement. Professor Burn's essay undertakes the task and carries it through admirably. This is an enormously rewarding and stimulating book, which, one can predict with little hesitation, will have its effect on interpretations of the mid-century. The proper tag for the age, in Burn's view, is not Benthamism or individualism but rather "equipoise." What the country had achieved was not so much quiescence or even stability as a temporary balance of dynamic forces, "forces struggling, pushing, shoving to better their positions."

Articulate mid-Victorians may have taken pride in living in an "individualistic" society. Actually, Burn argues, they were subject to a variety of disciplines, some traditional, others more recently fashioned. There were the disciplines of the home and the Victorian family, of church and chapel, of factory and estate, and of the courts (Burn uses law cases to excellent point) and public opinion. These disciplines were never welded into a coherent system, and many Victorians could avoid one or all of them. Yet the age made substantial progress toward regularity, order, and, indeed, self-discipline. Mid-Victorians were less addicted to absolutes than their parents, less impulsive in action, less intense, conceivably, in their emotions, and less given to alternating moods of gloom and exaltation. Very likely the 1850's yielded to control more readily than the 1830's and 1840's. Among other forces, vast masses of real and personal property were still held by a landed aristocracy, who through it supplied a profoundly stabilizing influence. For one can speak of this as a "middle-class age" only with grave qualifications. The great houses and their allies were doing well enough economically and politically, and their social sway remained unimpaired.

The more closely one looks at the period the less do such catchwords as "individualism," "laissez faire," and "collectivism" seem to signify. Even though the age tended to align itself on the laissez-faire side (but certainly no laissez-faire "system" ever existed), mid-Victorian England was by no means populated "by *doctrinaire* lunatics so devoted to *laissez faire* that they insisted on a free market in arsenic [or] cheerfully accepted the spread of smallpox and cholera." The discussion, Burn suggests, would have more reality if the terms were changed and "centralizing" substituted for "collectivist" and "local" for "individualist." Here, indeed, there was an extended conflict. Localism remained a powerful force, and it provided a vigorous resistance to the centralizing tendencies at Westminster.

On the whole, the mid-Victorian state acted pragmatically. As evils appeared, they were (in time) dealt with, often in a highly disorderly, unsequential fashion. Intervention by the state was the result of no long-range policy but rather of individual, informal decisions, themselves the fruit of "anger or fear or pity or impatience." Failure to deal with social evils was, on the whole, less the product of any deep-seated devotion to the principles of laissez faire than of simple reluctance to spend public money. At the root of some of the Victorian decisions that seem least comprehensible to our century lay an almost pathological frugality, which was inclined to regard any unfamiliar public expenditure as reckless and even sinful.

Harvard University

DAVID OWEN

KING EDWARD THE SEVENTH. By *Philip Magnus*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 528. \$8.50.)

SIR Philip Magnus' latest biography, the life of King Edward VII, inevitably provokes comparison with the standard two-volume work of Sir Sidney Lee (1925-27). Lee devoted his entire second volume to the King's brief reign; Magnus gives the reign somewhat under half of his much fewer pages. Lee's greater length comes from his fuller treatment of political and diplomatic history, with much of which Edward, as Prince of Wales, had little connection, and Lee's quotations from letters are longer. Thus Lee goes into greater detail over the always difficult relations between Edward and Wilhelm II, for example their meetings at the Cowes regatta for several years in the 1890's; Magnus, however, is fuller about the Prince's reluctance to forget the Kaiser's slight to him during his visit to Vienna in 1888, and also about Edward's friendship for Tsar Nicholas II. Magnus has had the advantage not only of the Royal Archives (which Lee used, but Magnus gives direct references to them) but of several other collections, particularly the Esher, Hardinge, Salisbury, and Asquith papers. Both authors stress the King's interest in foreign policy without exaggerating the importance of his state visit to Paris in 1903; both describe his support for the reforms in the army and navy during his reign; both recount his attempts to allay the constitutional crisis in 1909-

1910; both give due place to his personal links with politics and politicians from Gladstone onward, in spite of Queen Victoria's stubborn refusal to allow him official access or public employment; both show his assiduity as Prince in attending ceremonial functions (averaging twenty-seven a year in the 1860's, but eighty-six in 1900) as well as race meetings, operas, and plays.

Magnus dwells more fully on the personal qualities and habits of this most urbane of princes, and his popularity—how much helped by his horses twice winning the Derby?—is unquestionable. Lee, however, was by no means negligent in this; and Magnus has handicapped himself in two ways: his writing is flat, and with a curious habit of combining two incongruous pieces of information in the same sentence, and his personal descriptions are scattered haphazardly throughout the book. In any case, Edward's constant restlessness and struggle against boredom make his biography seem like a scrapbook of glittering occasions from a distant past. We read of his vast dinners (rarely less than twelve courses), his travels with seldom more than thirty attendants "apart from his suite," and the forty suits and uniforms included in a week's luggage.

Of course Magnus says more of Edward's "amorous adventures" than Lee ever does, but he is always discreetly reticent. Where Lee hints at Lord Charles Beresford's outrageous behavior in 1891 in two lines, Magnus has six pages; the two treatments of the estrangement from Lord Randolph Churchill are of the same order. Both recount Lady Mordaunt's divorce case and the Tranby Croft affair. The reader will find in Lee no mention of Lillie Langtry or Lady Brooke and little to suggest the King's "understanding" with Mrs. Keppel; Magnus states that the Prince "became Mrs. Langtry's lover" and quotes Hilaire Belloc's amusing lines on Mrs. Willy James's weekend parties. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*.

University College of North Wales

C. L. MOWAT

ISAAC BUTT AND HOME RULE. By *David Thornley*. (London: MacGibbon and Kee. 1964. Pp. 413. 63s.)

In the largely neglected postfamine, pre-Parnellite period of Irish history, Dr. Thornley's book will undoubtedly become the standard study of Irish politics for the years 1868–1878. Indeed, historians will find his chapters on the general elections of 1868 and 1874 indispensable for an understanding of British history of the period. Excluding T. De Vere White's literary biography of Butt, *The Road of Excess* (1946), the only historical competitor with Thornley's work is L. J. McCaffrey's admirable but brief *Irish Federalism in the 1870's: A Study in Conservative Nationalism* (1962). The infancy of the Home Rule movement is not "unexplored" as Thornley states in his preface, apparently unaware of McCaffrey's book. McCaffrey, however, begins in 1870 and concentrates on the period 1874–1879, while Thornley starts with the disestablishment election of 1868 and documents the following decade much more thoroughly.

This elegantly written book traces the rise of the Irish Home Rule movement based on the principles peculiar to its founder, Isaac Butt, the son of an Anglo-Irish clergyman who became a brilliant classicist and political economist at Trinity College, Dublin. Thornley briefly refers to the origins of Butt's nationalism in an "Orange Young Ireland" version of the literary and nationalistic movement inspired by the poet Thomas Davis in the 1840's. In fact, Butt's Home Government Association was spawned in the "false dawn" of Protestant nationalism following the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869. When Gladstone's "justice for Ireland" policy collapsed with the failure of the Land Act of 1870 to satisfy tenant right leaders, Irish confidence in Gladstone was shaken, and support for Home Rule increased. Butt's formula for an Irish nationalist movement called for uniting Tory Repealers, Liberal land reformers, and the Fenian-amnesty supporters into one party pledged only to vote for Home Rule for Ireland on a federal basis. Butt's scheme was unworkable, and Irish sectarian interests could not be reconciled in a single party.

After the election of 1874 Butt was "the unquestioned leader of the Irish people," but by 1878 he was "an anachronistic survival" and "a barrier to the development of the national movement." Butt's support for Disraeli's imperialism was repugnant to Irish nationalists. His vision of a united Irish nationalist party, including Protestant landowners, was pure fantasy. He never received the approval of the Catholic clergy or the loyalty of the tenant farmers. Although Thornley barely mentions it, Butt's reputation for dissipation and improvidence contributed to his downfall. Most important of all, however, there arose a nationalist leader, Charles Stewart Parnell, who adopted tactics Butt shunned to win publicity and popularity in Ireland. Parnell practiced obstruction in Parliament as a "stunt," willingly exploited sectarian issues, and ruthlessly enforced total obedience upon members of the Home Rule party. It was the un-Irish Parnell, with his icy demeanor and austere dignity, and not the convivial Butt, with his delightful anecdotes and greater intellect, who captured the hearts of the Irish people. Nevertheless, Butt awoke the spirit of constitutional nationalism in Ireland and paved the way for the party of Parnell.

Ohio State University

JOSEPH M. HERNON, JR.

EMPERESS JOSEPHINE. By *Ernest John Knapton*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1963. Pp. xiii, 359. \$6.95.)

JOSEPHINE has not lacked biographers; two score and more have depicted her troubled life. Many of the accounts have been of the "for" or "against" variety, covering absence of light with clouds of feeling. To such writings Professor Knapton gives us more than a valuable antidote. His reconstruction of the career of *la bonne Joséphine* is a welcome and persuasive addition, reliable for his sure command of the historical material and enjoyable in the reading for his empathy to-

ward an endearing woman whose defects and weaknesses were matched by many admirable traits.

The giddy, ignorant, and inexperienced young Creole bride of Alexandre de Beauharnais survived the unhappiness and cares of an ill-fated marriage; survived, too, and not without staining her escutcheon, the difficult years of the Terror and post-Terror years; accommodated herself, now painfully, now happily, to her imperious lord and master, Napoleon, and to the obligations and responsibilities of her position as first lady of the state. At the end, after the sumptuous pomp of coronation, after years of fear that the Emperor would set her aside, after the mellow-sad years at her beloved Malmaison, Josephine remained what she had been all her life: kindly, generous, still extravagant, still irresponsible, still possessed of an irresistible charm and warmth to which Knapton's pages pay their tribute.

That the author's scholarship is that of a seasoned historian is hardly a surprise. Thoroughly at home with the period and earlier writings, he sets the personal story deftly in the larger setting of the seething era of the Revolution and the Napoleonic adventure. He dips into archival material, but he relies most heavily and effectively upon the carefully edited correspondence: the great body of Napoleon's letters to Josephine, and her voluminous letters to her family and friends. It is a pity and a mystery that her letters to him have disappeared. Garnering his data with care, sifting it discriminately, Knapton has put his professional experience and understanding in the service of an orderly, lucid, and often moving story.

For this contribution, not only historians will be indebted to him. If, in the main, the inclinations of the historian take precedence over the arts of the biographer, for he has not yielded to what must have been a standing temptation to employ literary artifice to heighten suspense and ring the changes on the dramatic moments, nevertheless his study—for that it essentially is—has many of the attributes of biography. It illuminates Josephine's personality and traces her development with forbearance, compassion, and mature judgment.

New York University

LEO GERSHOY

LES ARMÉES RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES: INSTRUMENT DE LA TERREUR DANS LES DÉPARTEMENTS, AVRIL 1793-FLORÉAL AN II. In two volumes. By *Richard Cobb*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sorbonne, VI^e Section. Sciences économiques et sociales. Société et idéologies. First Series, Études, Number 2.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1961; 1963. Pp. viii, 364; 366-1017.)

COBB's book is a major contribution to the history of the French Revolution seen "from below" and in terms of city versus countryside. The *armées révolutionnaires* were political armies of sans-culottes raised to terrorize internal enemies, to provision the cities and armed forces, and to propagandize the provinces. Cobb, an English historian, has been a familiar figure in some 150 French archives where he has studied the Parisian and 56 local armies with inexhaustible enthusiasm

since 1938. He modestly denies that his work is "definitive," but it comes so close that it makes no difference. His long-awaited volumes will delight and exasperate his fellow specialists; Robespierrists, Catholics, Communists, Royalists, and others may be offended, but none will be bored. Cobb is an independent, though his materials and protagonists are associated with the Soboul-Rudé "school" of historiography.

In a thousand pages the composition and structure, activities, and dissolution of these paramilitary forces are treated in vivid detail. Though spontaneous in origin, they were soon "municipalized" and then employed as instruments of official repression against internal enemies of the republic. Concerning their political attitudes Cobb demonstrates that, except for a number of "Hébertist" officers, they were loyal to the National Convention and obedient to its commissars and representatives and to the local authorities. The notion that Ronsin, *général-en-chef* of the Parisian *armée révolutionnaire*, planned to use his unit for an Hébertist *coup d'état* against the Convention is rejected. Of diverse social origins, these civilians in uniform were predominantly artisans, shopkeepers, and small businessmen. Many officers were former soldiers. Their most important and successful activities were keeping food and essential materials moving to the cities and military fronts and enforcing economic controls. Repression of rebels, refractory priests, and stubborn peasants was less effective and stimulated hostile reactions which contributed to the eventual dissolution of the *armées* by the Montagnard government. Punitive expeditions like Viton's in Aveyron and "grand moyens" like the *noyades* of Nantes were spectacular but exceptional episodes limited to regions of royalist brigandage or civil war. Cobb is sympathetic but objective toward his *révolutionnaires*. However, his penchant for picaresque detail plus his impressionistic, nonanalytical technique convey an impression of drunkenness, disorder, and ineptitude.

Cobb's colorful, richly textured, and carefully shaded pictures of the *armées révolutionnaires's* activities reveal various complex social, economic, political, and religious antagonisms that rent many French towns and villages during the Terror. The author presents much evidence of class conflicts, but he believes that many rural clashes derived from local rivalries and personal and family quarrels. He shows that such factors plus hostility to "étrangers" influenced relations of the rural population with detachments of urban *révolutionnaires*, particularly between village sans-culottes and Parisians. Information is presented on religious loyalties, clerical agitation, and forced dechristianization. The last together with the power struggle between the Committee of Public Safety and other centralizing institutions of the National Convention on the one hand and various independent, popular organizations in Paris and elsewhere and numerous commissars in the departments to whom political authority had been delegated by deputies on mission on the other contributed to the downfall of the sans-culottes armies.

Although he concludes that "the actions of the *armées révolutionnaires* were above all spectacular and ephemeral" Cobb provides keen insights into the men-

talities, behavior, and attitudes of his sans-culottes and incidentally of peasants, bourgeois, and others during the Terror. The value of his work for specialists is enhanced by three indexes, full bibliographical apparatus, and interesting and varied documentation in the footnotes and tables. A shortened version for students and general readers would be an extremely useful addition to French revolutionary literature in English.

University of Florida

DAVID L. DOWD

RURAL REVOLUTION IN FRANCE: THE PEASANTRY IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Gordon Wright*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 271. \$6.00.)

WHEN Breton peasants employ tractors instead of carts to form highway roadblocks and embarrass a ministry by flooding the mails with packages of surplus potatoes, when a spokesman for these same small farmers can suggest as a slogan "individualisme, voilà l'ennemi," it is evident that the traditional clichés regarding that much-honored, equally neglected, backbone of French society, the independent peasant, need scrapping. That a fundamental social as well as technological revolution has been going on in the French countryside is now self-evident, but historians, like urban-born French politicians, have been slow to recognize, let alone comprehend, the magnitude of the change. Fortunately, Gordon Wright, more prescient and certainly more imaginative than most of his professional colleagues, decided some years ago that the topic was worth investigating. In 1950 he spent several months in a selected group of widely dispersed, mostly Communist voting, rural villages. From that first initiation to peasant life and peasant problems came several brilliant journal articles, here reprinted in the appendix with supplementary notes based on return visits a decade later. Now, after extending his research on the national level to include interviews with scores of party, government, and farm organization leaders, sampling most of the major farm journals, and drawing on monographic and official sources, he has produced a book that, despite its modest size and pretensions, touches on nearly every aspect of the peasant problem in contemporary France.

Structurally the study concentrates attention on the interplay between the agricultural programs put forward by the political parties and governments that have directed French affairs from the Third to the Fifth Republic and the various farm organizations that have attempted, recently with some success, to voice the aspirations and the discontents of the French peasants. For me, the introductory chapters that sketch what was essentially a negative policy in the first decades of the century were as crowded with new insights as the later ones that deal in detail with the revolutionary changes of the last ten years. By laying bare the crippling effects of what he labels the "peasantist" doctrines of the early years, he brings into sharper focus the refreshing originality and dynamism that have characterized the new generation of peasant leaders. The historical approach has

other advantages. If there are elements of continuity—the most important being the persistence of peasant discontent—it is instructive to be forced to recognize that no one party, no one government, had a monopoly of constructive ideas or policies; that in this respect even the Vichy period could be of cardinal importance. Above all, one must applaud the kind of research that goes behind the written record and statistics to focus on the human actors in the drama. A master of verbal compression and the controlled generalization, Wright has converted what could have been a technical treatise into the kind of inclusive essay that will prove as informative to the general reader as it will be rewarding to the specialist. It is a superb book, a testimony to what a highly gifted scholar moving into a new field of research (I am tempted to write “plowing new furrows”) can offer.

Wright has compressed so much into his slender volume that to ask for more is to appear ungrateful. For the general reader, however, an additional introductory chapter on the economics of French agriculture would have been helpful. His footnotes provide much of the basic data; what is lacking is the kind of synthesis that only a chapter devoted to the topic could provide.

University of Michigan

JOHN BOWDITCH

SPAIN UNDER THE HABSBURG. Volume I, EMPIRE AND ABSOLUTISM, 1516–1598. By *John Lynch*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 374. \$7.50.)

THE impressive advances in the study of sixteenth-century Spanish history over the past thirty years can be measured by comparing this first installment of a projected two-volume study of the entire Habsburg period down to 1700 with the last two volumes of Merriman's *Spanish Empire*. Dr. Lynch of University College, London, already known for his *Spanish Colonial Administration, 1782–1810*, draws heavily upon the works of Bataillon, Hamilton, Vicens Vives, Reglá, Carande, Braudel, Koenigsberger, Marañón, Mattingly, and others (but curiously not Américo Castro and Sánchez Albornoz) that have revolutionized comprehension of the age, particularly in the social, economic, religious, and intellectual sectors. But his book is much more than a mere synthesis; it provides a comprehensive survey of the Spanish state under Charles I (V) and Philip II, detailed, lucidly written, and marked by acute analysis and discriminating judgment.

Of the ten chapters, the first summarizes the incomplete national unification under the Catholic monarchs; two deal with Charles V's domestic and foreign activities; another two cover agriculture, industry, the price revolution, government financing, and foreign trade, for the century as a whole; and the concluding five examine Philip II's absolutist regime at home and its conflicts in the Islamic Mediterranean and trans-Pyrenean Europe. The Philippine portion of the book (significantly, well over half) presents the best account anywhere of this crucial reign. Lynch assesses skillfully Philip II's mixed bag of successes and

failures: the perfecting of an essentially Spanish state, the addition of naval to military supremacy, the crushing of Spanish religious dissent, the contradictory fiscal measures and repeated bankruptcies, the eventual economic and psychological exhaustion of the Spanish people, and the great diplomatic and military decisions, sound at first but after 1580 increasingly imprudent and disastrous. He rightly refuses to take Philip on his own terms as champion of the Counter Reformation, demonstrating how his conflicts with the papacy, attitude toward the Jesuits and the Tridentine decrees on episcopatism and Rome's appellate jurisdiction, and dealings with the Low Countries and England reveal an Erastianism that identified religious interests with, and often subordinated them to, those of the Spanish monarchy.

Lynch's inclination to view almost everything from the standpoint of its bearing upon the crown's authority, resources, and foreign commitments leads him at times to give insufficient attention to certain topics of broader national import. These include demographic changes, regional variations (Crown of Aragon territories are discussed, but internal subdivisions within Castile largely neglected), aristocratic feuds lying behind political factionalism, *converso* influences, and intellectual and popular movements within the Church (though Church-state relations are well handled). Conventional condemnation of *latifundismo* and the crown sponsored *Mesta* overlooks the role of small familial tenures in the Cantabrian-Pyrenean zone and of the small stockmen in the sheep industry. On the larger canvas, Spanish Italy seems unduly scantied, and the American colonies appear only as they affect the metropolis through trade, treasure imports, and defense questions; the consequence is an imbalance in favor of Northern Europe.

This work does not supersede Merriman at various points, and, though more detailed, lacks something of the sparkling originality and stimulus of John Elliott's recent *Imperial Spain*. But it is a very fine achievement, unquestionably the best over-all treatment of Spain and Spain's European Empire under the first two Habsburgs, and the succeeding volume can be awaited with keen anticipation.

University of Virginia

C. J. BISHKO

THE NETHERLANDS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Part Two, 1648-1715. By Pieter Geyl. (New York: Barnes and Noble. 1964. Pp. 399. \$8.50.)

In this book Professor Pieter Geyl continues his valuable study of the Netherlands. The story of the republic under Jan and Cornelis De Witt and their antagonism to the House of Orange is sympathetically presented. The years of greatness in the first half of the century turned to years of internal unrest, external stalemate in the naval wars with England, and alarm over the encroachment of Louis XIV on the Spanish Netherlands; they finally culminated in the murder of the De Witts. The complicated and often puzzling character of William III, stadholder of Holland and king of England, is well portrayed by the author. William's role in the life of

Holland and its temporary experience under the same ruler as England clearly shows, although William never forgot that he was a Dutchman, why by 1715 Holland could no longer claim to be a first-rate power. Geyl is at his best in describing the political life of the Netherlands.

The sections dealing with the activities of the Dutch East and West India Companies present a fair and objective picture of the role of these great enterprises. Why the East India Company enjoyed far greater success than that of its West Indian counterpart is made clear. Geyl does not neglect the social, scientific, and literary activities of the people of both the north and south. The religious conflicts and theological disputes that occupied so much of the thought of both religious and political leaders in the last half of the seventeenth century are the most difficult sections of the book to understand and follow. The reader is in great danger of becoming lost in the Voëtian and Cocceian points of view.

The author relies heavily upon seventeenth-century materials and has made excellent use of the best available sources. Frequent quotations support his conclusions. It is sometimes difficult to remember that this work is really a continuation of his earlier book, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century, Part I, 1609-1648*, and not a separate and distinct work. Frequently references are made to the first part and are essential for a clear understanding of the point being presented. This is sometimes disconcerting. The book's greatest weakness lies in the long, involved sentence structure, perhaps due to the translation from Dutch into English.

This book is an example of high standards of academic history. It is an important contribution to the story of the Netherlands in the last years of their greatness and the beginning of their declining strength as a world power.

Allegheny College

PAUL B. CARES

VERNUNFT UND GESCHICHTE: DIE BEDEUTUNG DER DEUTSCHEN
AKADEMIEN FÜR DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER GESCHICHTSWISSEN-
SCHAFT IM SPÄTEN 18. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Andreas Kraus*. (Frei-
burg: Herder. 1963. Pp. 575.)

UNTIL now the history of historiography has contained a major gap. No extensive study had been written on the research practices and results in the crucial decades that preceded the crystallization of scholarly methods in early nineteenth-century Germany. Historical thought in the eighteenth century has been widely explored, and Wilhelm Dilthey, Ernst Cassirer, and Friedrich Meinecke have destroyed the myth of the antihistorical century. But little attention has been paid to the actual history of scholarly historical research as distinct from historical thought or from the great historical syntheses.

In over five hundred finely printed pages, Dr. Kraus has brought together the materials for such a history. Following Professor Butterfield's admonition, Kraus did not confine himself to "the few men of supreme genius," but surveyed and analyzed the work of dozens of lesser historians as well. Historical writing and

historical scholarship were still sharply divided in the eighteenth century; the pragmatic historians wrote all-encompassing universal histories on the basis of little research; the scholars edited documents and compiled isolated facts. Not at the universities, which were still primarily teaching institutions, but at the newly established academies did historical research techniques develop. The world of the academies was narrow. The tradition of a genuine historical school bound by a common scientific methodology was nowhere to be found yet. Inquiries were restricted to editions, to genealogy of rulers, to the accumulation of factual data about the local, medieval past with little concern until late in the century with the problem of continuity.

Nevertheless in this narrow world the foundations were laid for the great age of historians in the nineteenth century. The academies resisted the utilitarian demands of the century, which saw all science in the service of man's moral improvement, and instead studied the past for its own sake. They trained several generations of scholars in painstaking methodological research and compiled much historical knowledge. Nor was the gap between the *érudits* and the *hommes de lettres* or between the academies and the universities as complete as in France. The academies learned from the pragmatic historians the need for linking the already established facts, but preserved the devotion to methodological correctness and nurtured a deep love for the past, especially the medieval past.

This is an admirable work of erudition. To be regretted only is the unnecessarily long introductory section, "Geschichte als Lebensmacht," which repeats the oversimplified picture of Western European Enlightenment, natural law doctrine, and Voltaire's optimism traditional to so much of German national historiography.

Roosevelt University

GEORG G. IGGERS

AUS DEN JAHREN PREUSSISCHER NOT UND ERNEUERUNG: TAGEBÜCHER UND BRIEFE DER GEBRÜDER GERLACH UND IHRES KREISES, 1805-1820. Edited by *Hans Joachim Schoeps*. (Berlin: Haude & Spenersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963. Pp. 644. DM 78.)

MANY aspects of German intellectual life during the first quarter of the nineteenth century are considerably illuminated in this valuable source publication. It consists of various materials drawn from the archive of the famous Prussian family of Gerlach, whose earliest prominent member was Leopold von Gerlach (1757-1813), the first elected mayor of Berlin under Stein's municipal ordinance (1809). He had four distinguished sons: Wilhelm (1789-1834), a leading judge; Leopold (1790-1861), a soldier influential as *Generaladjutant* of Frederick William IV and head of the so-called "camarilla" of the 1850's; Ludwig (1795-1877), judge, publicist, and politician, the leading figure in the development of Prussian Conservatism after 1848; and Otto (1801-1849), a well-known Berlin clergyman with

pioneering views on the social role of the Protestant church in the nineteenth century.

The publication consists of three separate parts. Part I presents a history of the Gerlach family written by General Leopold von Gerlach in the 1850's (obviously not for publication). It was enlarged by Conservative politician Ludwig von Gerlach after 1864 with footnotes and commentaries which sometimes provide a fascinating dialogue between the two brothers. (They generally agreed on persons and issues, but their personalities were very different. Ludwig, five years younger, less distinguished in his outward career, and lacking Leopold's social presence and charm, suffered from a strong inferiority complex toward his brother.) The narrative includes a superb characterization of father Gerlach and the bureaucratic Berlin milieu during the Prussian reform period, interesting accounts of the education, political and religious preoccupations, and military campaigns of the brothers, and some drafts of early articles that reveal the genesis of their Conservative ideas.

Part II provides selections from the diary kept by Ludwig between 1815 and 1820. It is a valuable chronicle of his personal development, characterized by a notable expansion of powers but also by recurring periods of neurotic self-doubt and an almost paralyzing religious concern with his rather venial sins. We can follow the gradual crystallization of Gerlach's political and religious principles which were notable for his absolute and rigid reverence for law and justice, two qualities that made him the most trenchant foe of Bismarck's Machiavellian conduct in later days. Equally interesting is the insight into the leading intellectual figures of Berlin society (for example, Schleiermacher, Savigny, Niebuhr); the atmosphere of Marshal Blücher's headquarters, to which Ludwig was attached during the Waterloo campaign; and the development of Prussian Conservative circles like the *Maihäferkreis*. Part III includes 313 letters written between 1801 and 1827 from father to son, brother to brother, or members of the family to outside friends. The last include many of the great and near-great of Prussian society and allow the reader to recapture a vanished age with its cultural interests, religious preoccupations, political hopes, and intense personal friendships.

Editor Schoeps, long notable for his unsuccessful attempt to revive Prussian values in West Germany's "Americanised" post-1945 society, has not allowed his affection for the Gerlachs and reverence for their world to distort his admirable editorial judgment. He has ruthlessly pruned both diary and letters of everything lacking general interest, thereby achieving a readable volume of manageable size. A biographical introduction provides useful background for the nonspecialized reader, and the footnote apparatus, identifying persons and events and making bibliographical suggestions, is entirely adequate. Another volume, dealing with the years 1848-1866 when Leopold and Ludwig exercised their maximum political influence, has been promised for early publication.

DAS HISTORISCHE SEMINAR DER RHEINISCHEN FRIEDRICH-WILHELMS-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BONN: VORLÄUFER—GRÜNDUNG—ENTWICKLUNG. EIN WEGSTÜCK DEUTSCHER UNIVERSITÄTSGESCHICHTE. By *Paul Egon Hübinger*. With a contribution by *Wilhelm Levison*. [Bonner historische Forschungen, Number 20.] (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag. 1963. Pp. xiv, 436. DM 28.)

HÜBINGER has expanded a centennial address into a fully documented account of the history seminar at Bonn University. It appears here preceded by Wilhelm Levison's earlier history of the seminar (1933). Portraits or photographs of deceased professors are interspersed throughout the text. Important correspondence and other documents not readily available elsewhere are presented in a series of forty-six appendixes. The final quarter of the volume consists of two long lists: one, a list of professors and lecturers, together with their dates of service in the seminar and the location of their graves if relevant and known; and the other, a list of doctoral dissertations written in history by the end of the seminar's first hundred years.

Hübinger discerns two traditions that constitute a sort of polarity in the history of the seminar, both of which can be traced back to Ranke, though he was never a seminar member. Both remained true, each in its own fashion, to the Rankean conception of a "scientific history." But for all their common origin and their common commitment, they diverged radically to produce within the seminar a polar tension that has both generated development and conditioned it. One of these traditions, that of political activism, which G. P. Gooch taught English-speaking historians to distrust by identifying it with the "Prussian School," was manifested in the founder of the history seminar. Heinrich Karl Ludolf v. Sybel had studied under Ranke. Never renouncing his discipleship, he continued to profess the master's scientific ideals even after deep ethical concern had goaded him into hurtling, with those ideals, down from heights of Rankean detachment into the passions and turbulence of politics. Hübinger sees no inconsistency in this. Rather, he cites with obvious approval Sybel's belief that only "through living rapport with the present day can the historian gain the moral warmth out of which the past can blossom into new artistic being." Still, Sybel could be as categorical as Ranke in denouncing inclinations of the heart and demands of custom, which he deemed sources of error for a science whose only concern should be to discover truth. There was no conscious inconsistency in this, but there was naïveté perhaps. Convinced that rational comprehension was identical with objective knowledge, Sybel was incapable of examining or even of identifying his own hidden assumptions. If he had, Hübinger thinks he would have found, disguised there as objective truth, the shockingly subjective judgment form of what the English call the Whig interpretation of history.

By all odds the greatest single determinant of the seminar's continuing character, Sybel continued to dominate it for a time even after his departure in 1875 to

become general director of the Prussian State Archives. A reaction, however, eventually set in against his activism. His successors, for the most part men of less personal force and passion, moved more and more toward the pole of selfless detachment, disinterestedness, ethical neutrality, toward *Historismus*, which is the second of the traditions that Hübinger discerns in the seminar's history. Anxious to keep themselves receptive to everything that was historical and human, Sybel's successors determined to purge their professional selves of all personal commitment except to scientific truth. Lest bias render them insensitive to the values of others, they reduced their own values to parity with the values they studied historically, only to see all values threaten to dissolve in relativistic flux. With but few exceptions, they viewed the burning issues of their day dispassionately. They professed indifference about outcomes and refused to become involved, right up to that moment when National Socialism battered down the walls of professional detachment and involved them willy-nilly in evils that could be neither dissolved relativistically nor ignored.

Hübinger has but little to say about the years of the Nazi dictatorship; most of that is vague and ambiguous, though he seems to think that his university's record may be clearer than most. But he is neither vague nor ambiguous about the shattered existence, both personal and professional, that was Hitler's horrible bequest to those who survived. No more than anyone else in this postwar generation can the historian pretend to detachment, disinterestedness, ethical neutrality. Historians know now, as Sybel did before them, that a historical science without ethical concern is an impossibility: an existential impossibility in the long run and, though Hübinger only hints at this, a catastrophic mistake in the short run. But historians know, too, that they cannot proceed as if *Historismus* had never poured its relativizing solvent. The historian's ethical concern can no longer be based, as Sybel's once was, upon the power state; nor can it be based upon the earlier Enlightenment conception of universal human reason. Rather, breaking new ground somehow in the tragically human, historical science must strive henceforth not merely to make men more intelligent—Hübinger seems to discern herein the failure of *Historismus*: it must strive to make them better.

University of Oregon

LLOYD R. SORENSON

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918-1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Series D, 1937-1945. Volumes IX and X, DIE KRIEGSJAHRE. Part 2, 18. MÄRZ BIS 22. JUNI 1940; Part 3, 23. JUNI BIS 31. AUGUST 1940. (Frankfurt am Main: P. Keppeler Verlag KG. 1962; 1963. Pp. lxix, 614; lvii, 529.)

THE renewed publication of the original documents on German foreign relations in Series D (1937-1945) has been rightly welcomed with Volume VIII in this *Review* (LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 524). Volume IX appeared in 1962, Volume X, in 1963; the materials have been available in English since 1956 and 1957 respectively.

(The latter English volume alone has been noticed here [LXIII (Apr. 1958), 738].) The German editors now responsible for continuation have presented the same 534 and 415 items as the 2 volumes of translations. Identical document numbers simplify reference. Materials are arranged chronologically, as they have been advantageously in the English series since Volume VI for March–August 1939. In both versions a condensed calendar by subjects directs attention to German relations with different countries. To the valuable English annotations the German editors have added further useful details about drafting, office practices, persons referred to indirectly, and relevant published sources. In addition, they have turned the list of persons into a careful index by names. It facilitates many inquiries, such as seeking the affairs in which an individual participated or the diplomatic papers supposed to be sent to Hitler. Thanks to the editors' notable application and accuracy throughout the two volumes, only a few printing errors are noticeable. (An attempt of a radio commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr., to inspire Hitler to nourish American isolationism by a telegram to President Roosevelt during the 1940 campaign appears in Volume X, page 245, not as indexed.) The meticulous references to microfilms make either series a useful and likely a necessary guide to the mass of intricate microfilm reels that contain the mountain of materials from which the present pieces have been selected. Only extensive research in that vast mass can permit one to assess the editorial selection. Although either series provides an informative reference work, the scholar concerned with German foreign relations will necessarily use the German. The editors of both versions have labored hard and well to achieve these authoritative and notable volumes, already much used in translation.

During the brief and fateful period of less than six months dealt with in these two volumes, German diplomatists played their major role as jackals for the dogs of war unslipped. On March 18, 1940, where Volume IX begins, Hitler was luring his greedy and bellicose partner in the "pact of steel" toward a war for which Mussolini knew that he was unready. Within three months, German forces had crashed triumphantly across Western Europe. From Doorn in German occupied Holland, William II recalled Sedan and Frederick II and congratulated Hitler for the victory brought by the god of the Hohenzollerns. Shortly before the armistice with France on June 22, with which the volume ends, the *Duce* had stabbed France in the back so as to collect cheap gains from German victories. Another German ally, the Soviet Union, used the opportunity to seize the helpless Baltic States without even bothering with the last-minute diplomatic announcements that Hitler, like his predecessors in 1914–1918, afforded his allies. After Stalin grabbed Bessarabia from Rumania in the summer of 1940, Bulgaria and Hungary, whom the *Führer* greeted as "comrades in arms" from the first war, tried to contribute to the construction of a "new Europe." The German government's effort both to maintain petroleum supplies from Rumania and to keep Southeastern Europe out of the war fills many pages of Volume X. While groping for plans to end the war that England waged alone, Hitler himself dealt with the governments and at

last imposed his own partition of Transylvania on Rumania and Hungary, after which the volume ends on August 31. He described his "Diktat" by the willful and ominous phrase "final solution" (*endgültige Lösung*), which he and his Foreign Minister applied to their work of demolition. Meanwhile, German assurances to the small neutrals in the spring at the very moment of attack had given way in the conquered lands to domineering. Isolated Sweden yielded to the demand to permit the transit of German war materials and troops to Norway. The noose was tightening around Switzerland. The German diplomatists and Hitler were confident that through force they could reorganize Europe to German advantage. With more studied effort and perhaps with more skill than Hitler, the diplomatists prepared to exploit the conquered lands. Hitler favored the local Nazis who had ruthlessness and dogma but little support in Norway, the Netherlands, and Denmark. *Grossdeutschland* was beginning to take shape. The Rumanians sought Hitler's guidance for measures against Jews. A section of the German Foreign Office prepared to carry out his determination to eliminate Jews from Europe.

The reports of Hitler's many talks with representatives of other governments show his boundless confidence in force and in himself, his often shrewd and generally simple political calculations, and his methods of moving others. But in spite of the extensive documentation in these two volumes, the problem of marking out Hitler's activities and, still more, of delineating German foreign policy and the grounds for it remains unsolvable from these Foreign Office archives. The German diplomatists themselves often strained to divine Hitler's activities and intentions. Once Ribbentrop himself demanded of his officials who had authorized an interview (with Leopold III), only to be told that it was the *Führer*. It is both revealing and characteristic of German foreign policy that the editors provide no considerations about an attack on Russia from Foreign Office archives. It is highly instructive about Hitler's practices and about the problems of documenting them that, like previous scholars, the editors present an extract from the *Diary* of General Franz Halder for July 31, 1940, to show Hitler's determination to crush Russia in a five months' campaign.

University of Washington

D. E. EMERSON

THE CAPTIVE PRESS IN THE THIRD REICH. By *Oron J. Hale*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 353. \$6.50.)

PROFESSOR Hale presents a sharp, comprehensive picture of the fate of the German press in the *Third Reich*. He lays primary stress upon the newspaper field, although other serial publications are treated briefly. The account is essentially chronological, following the development of the Nazi policy and its implementation in a field that Hitler, always the propagandist, felt to be vital to his control of Germany and for the health of the party. Max Amann, as Hitler's chosen representative in the field of press control and as the creator of the mammoth *Eher*

Verlag empire, is the central figure of the book, although his strong dependence upon his chief aid, Rolf Rienhardt, recalls the relationship between Hindenburg and Ludendorff and therefore results in considerable emphasis upon Rienhardt's activity. Amann, like Hindenburg, was a "Wooden Titan" endowed with far less ability than was Rienhardt. Yet Rienhardt, like Ludendorff, clearly could scarcely have operated except in the shadow of the "Titan."

The main theme of *The Captive Press* is the manner in which this team of Amann and Rienhardt systematically destroyed the old, independent press of Germany and replaced it with a thoroughly cowed and party subordinated press by use of the manifold pressures available to the leadership of a dictatorially controlled state. A minor theme is the personal greed and lust for power of Amann and his constant quarrels with other Nazi authorities in his successful struggle to gratify his ambitions. The result is a clear and frightening picture of the manner in which the most powerful and independent citizens of a totalitarian state can be destroyed without the overt use of violence, and, unfortunately, the manner in which a moderate successor state is inclined to profit from the gains made by the predecessor it excoriates.

Hale has written a book that may be less spectacular than many surveys of the Nazi movement that have flooded the market since the fall of the Third Reich, but it performs a more valuable role than do many of these surveys, for it investigates in detail a single aspect of the Nazi period in such a manner as to provide new knowledge for the specialist and a sounder base for later and more authoritative surveys, since, in fact, a truly satisfactory survey of the Third Reich can only be written when many studies similar to this one have clearly laid bare the anatomy of state, party, and society. Hale has made impressive use of materials drawn from diverse sources, including printed materials of all types, manuscript collections in Allied custody, the German press, records of restitution trials, de-Nazification trials, and personal interviews with key persons in the German press and the Nazi party. His account is clearly presented and efficiently organized so that the book can be read as a monograph or consulted as a reference work. The bibliographic note is informative, and the bibliography, helpful.

The primary weakness in this work is a tendency to repeat unnecessarily material covered in earlier sections. This repetition may well aid the reader who is using the book as a reference work, but is an irritation to anyone reading from cover to cover. In the sections dealing with the later portion of World War II it is not easy to ascertain in one or two cases whether the year in question is 1943 or 1944. Such minor problems do not, however, seriously detract from the very real value of Hale's monograph.

The author has performed a most useful service for the general reader with a serious interest in the recent history of the press or in the techniques of totalitarian control in a modern state and society, as well as for the historian. Too, his work should help both historians and students to see how it was possible for the Nazis to tighten their grip on Germany until it was unshakable without driving their

opponents and victims to open revolt. The seizure of control of the press was undertaken in a series of short steps, each preceded and followed by soothing assurances for those who were not the immediate victims. Torn between fear of ruthless confiscation of their property, possibly accompanied by imprisonment, and hope that they might, by surface acquiescence, save something from the flames, the publishers went down piecemeal to defeat, while the journalists were held in line by the constant threat of expulsion from their profession. As Hale indicates, only determined martyrs were likely to stand firm and defiant under such circumstances, and willing martyrs are rare in any society and rarest in a business atmosphere, where there are few if any absolutes and success depends upon bargaining and compromise, with success measured in terms of dollars or marks.

University of Massachusetts

HAROLD J. GORDON, JR.

GIORDANO BRUNO AND THE HERMETIC TRADITION. By *Frances A. Yates*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 466. \$7.50.)

A DECISIVE contribution to the understanding of Giordano Bruno, this book will probably remove a great number of misrepresentations that still plague the tormented figure of the Nolan prophet. That he was in no way the first martyr of modern free thought and "scientific" progress that the anticlericals invented goes without saying. On the other hand, the depreciating view of the late Leonardo Olschki, who wrote him off as an excited confusionist, should also be dismissed. Bruno was a bewildering character, "gay in sorrow, sorrowful in gaiety," difficult to his friends, insufferant and insufferable by turns, who seems to have drawn all his troubles upon himself. But he knew what he wanted. In his torrential eloquence, haughty obscurity, debased magic, and outrageous Neapolitan slapstick are mixed in a way that bewilders the scholar, who in the end, as Cassirer did, tries to extract a core of dignified metaphysics and lets it go at that. But this does no justice to the churning turbid flood of Hermetic, cabalistic, Gnostic, theurgic, Sabaeen, Pythagorean, and generally mystical notions that broke over Europe with the Renaissance, carrying everything before it.

Miss Yates, who has devoted a number of important preparatory works to the subject, who has availed herself of the findings of Kristeller and Walker, now feels able to give to the Brunian problem a comprehensive answer. Bruno was essentially a Hermetist, and the reasons for his thought and action are to be found inside the Hermetic tradition. The introductory chapters of her book deal with the Hermetic *Corpus*, with Ficino's Christianized version of the *Pimander* and the *Asclepius*, with the Harranian magic tradition of the *Picatrix*, with the "natural magic" of the Florentine Academy, with Pico's interpretation of the cabala, with Cornelius Agrippa and Renaissance magic. All those are shown to be confluent and inextricably intermingled. "It was not only on the level of their magics that Pico married together Hermetism and Cabalism, but on the very deep level of their actual religious experience," having perceived a basic similarity between the

systems' duality and their cosmic framework. Bruno became a resolute adherent of the "Egyptian philosophy" that he considered to be the most ancient and profound, and in essence "nothing but astronomy." The influence of Cusanus and the pre-Socratics, of which much has been written, of Copernicus himself, are shown to be essentially refractions of the central theme. This allows the author to offer a new interpretation of Bruno's Copernicanism and to suggest that the dialogue of *Ash Wednesday* is symbolic throughout. It is clear that Bruno's astronomy and mathematics had little to do with the real thing. They are, as Kepler was to say scornfully of Robert Fludd, "Mathematics *more Hermetico*." Bruno's technical incompetence accounts for his involvement in Mordente's ludicrous paramathematics, which the author glosses over perhaps too kindly. But as far as Copernicus goes, it is a matter of creative misinterpretation to which Copernicus had lent himself by citing Hermes Trismegistus. The dazzling vision of an infinite universe of infinite worlds that Copernicus had not dared suggest does not belie his revolutionary initiative, but it goes far beyond any scientific thought to plunge through total animation into the great Hermetic synthesis. Science had only provided the spark to ignite Bruno's supercharged imagination.

Much is done to clear up the relations of Bruno with the political intrigues of his times: in France, he was on the side of Henry III and then of Navarre (later Henry IV) against the Ligue. It is part of his general conciliatory attitude, for he was no sectarian, and at heart a true Catholic; he hated the controversies of theological "grammarians." It was truly a "mad adventure" for him to cross over into Protestant England which had been through the Erasmian reform, "preaching a kind of Egyptian Counter-Reformation, prophesying a return to Egyptianism in which the religious difficulties will disappear in some new solution, preaching, too, a moral reform with emphasis on social good works." Yet his stay in England was the high noon of his production, thanks to the favor of Sir Philip Sidney and his circle. It was the moment of his best Italian works. The "Erioci Furori" is in itself a homage to the "diva Elizabetta," and Yates suggests that it "reflects the cult of the Queen in the great revival of chivalry in her reign of which the Accession Day Tilts, in which the Knights presented shields with devices on them to Elizabeth, were a manifestation." The Accession Tilt imagery was formed at the Woodstock Entertainment of 1575, and it gives a key to many of Bruno's emblems or *Imprese*. This looks like an ingenious solution for a real puzzle.

Another graver puzzle is the behavior of Bruno during his trial, and we may be on the way to solving it. His last hour appeal to the Pope for an interview may have looked like a nervous breakdown, but it was probably a desperate attempt to win over the Pope to his great reforming plans, to his suggested fusion of Catholicism and Hermetism, of which he considered himself the "Captain." It may sound absurd, but there have been more attempts since, last by John XXIII, to reconcile Catholicism with Freemasonry of which Bruno must be considered one of the founders. Their common roots go deep. Bruno was still a reconciler, but he preferred death to recantation.

I would finally raise some doubts that are not meant as a stricture on the author's admirable achievement, but deal with the larger issue of modern scholarship and its decisions. Once the scholar has examined those texts that the Renaissance imagined as rising from the unfathomed abyss of the past, and shown them as "late," that is, a syncretistic assemblage of about the second century A.D., he considers the case closed. The *prisca theologia* stands as a collective delusion of the Renaissance mind. This begs the question. Do those initial texts have to be mere fabrications? Even to show the influence of the *Timaeus* is not the same as to show that those ideas were invented by Plato. The myth may be Plato's own, but certain elements in it can be shown to antedate historic Pythagoreanism. We may, for all we know, be facing undatable elements of a very real *prisca theologia*, as Plato himself implied. That whole complex of thought grew through the centuries, but its basic ideas may go far back and be "astronomic in essence" as Bruno and Kircher suggested. The puzzle remains.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

GIORGIO DE SANTILLANA

THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF MODERN ITALY. By *Shepard B. Clough*.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 458. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Clough's work is one of the considerable number that, on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Italy's unification, have sought to present a balanced account of the first century of Italy's existence as an economic unit. It does, however, assume a place of its own among these. As a foreigner Clough has readily been able to avoid taking sides in the historiographical and ideological polemic which in recent years has divided Italian scholars on the problems of the subject and has adhered to the method of empirical inquiry, aiming above all to ascertain and bring into coherence the numerous facts scattered among the most varied sources. A precise recognition of the point of departure, natural and historical, in the economic development of Italy has permitted him to illuminate from the beginning the gravity of the problems and difficulties that the development had to overcome and has led him to concentrate his research on the processes that gradually allowed these difficulties to be surmounted. He emphasizes the importance that the processes of "forced saving" assumed in an agrarian economy whose capacity to save was very restricted while the inflow of capital from abroad was limited by the modest prospect of profitable returns from investments of capital in Italy. These processes of forced saving were imposed on the population in various ways to finance the considerable investments required to create fundamental "infrastructures" and basic industries. Clough thus seized upon one of the fundamental characteristics of Italian economic development; he describes effectively and with a wealth of detail the importance that the first thirty-five years after unification, 1861-1896, had in this respect. He thus goes beyond the negative position of other scholars, such as Gerschenkron, with the happy result of furnishing the back-

ground indispensable for an adequate historical explanation of the great "rush forward" of the twenty years that followed, which cannot otherwise be satisfactorily explained. To this is added a clear understanding of the basic conditions under which the forward rush took place. Clough definitely concludes that the effects of protectionism were advantageous to industrial development, while holding that, given the conditions of the times, it was a measure indispensable to agriculture. Therefore, with regard to the much-discussed functioning of the "mixed banking" system, he observes that basically it presented no greater inconveniences than those that were at the time lamented elsewhere.

On the other hand, the author passes a severe judgment on the succeeding period, from the intervention in the First World War to 1945. If on some points—for example, in evaluating the intervention of 1915—he seems to underestimate the importance that "national greatness" had as a motive in the Italy that issued from the *Risorgimento*, there is no doubt that his judgment is fully justified. After the grave events of the First World War, the twenty-year Fascist experiment went through a series of diverse and conflicting moments from the "liberal" phase personified by Alberto de' Stefani as Minister of Finance to a policy of increasing state intervention issuing in the attempt at autarchy, which the limitation of Italian resources from the very first deprived of any prospect of success. Fascism, furthermore, had no well-defined policy of economic development and never weighed the possibility that an increase of internal prosperity might constitute an alternative preferable to imperialism. This alternative prevailed in Italian policy after World War II and, sustained by moral factors that the author sums up as "the will" to economic progress, has led to the great results of the years of "the miracle." Clough does not fail to point out that even in 1958 the Italian national income per capita was hardly three-sevenths of the French, but he justly notes that one is dealing with a development founded on bases that are substantially sound. This is an important observation in the difficult conjuncture through which the Italian economy is now passing.

This work is rich in information on every aspect of the Italian economy. Thanks to this and to the author's uncommon capacity for expository synthesis, and to the modern criteria of interpretation and judgment by which he is guided, he has given us the complete economic history of united Italy that scholars have long awaited. It supplies a broad and balanced vision, far from the gross simplifications that have disfigured Italian Marxist historiography and that too often, even in well-qualified circles, take the place of a serious knowledge of reality.

Rome, Italy

ROSARIO ROMEO

RUCH POLSKI NA WARMII, MAZURACH I POWIŚLU W LATACH
1920–1939 [The Polish National Movement in Warmia, Mazury and along
the Lower Part of the Vistula River 1920–1939]. By *Wojciech Wrzesiński*.

[Prace Instytutu Zachodniego, Number 34.] (Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1963. Pp. 436. Zł.70.)

THE author presents a detailed, chronological study of the efforts made by the Polish minority in East Prussia to maintain and develop Polish national consciousness in the period 1920–1939. The territories in question were once under Polish rule, but the population had long been cut off from Polish cultural influence. Powiśle and Warmia had belonged to Poland from 1466 to 1772, while Mazury was ruled by the Teutonic Knights from the thirteenth century to 1525 and thereafter by the Hohenzollern dukes of East Prussia until 1657 as a fief of the Polish crown. This long separation from Poland, the Polish-Soviet war, and German economic and political pressures led to majority votes for union with Germany in 1920. Yet, a large Polish-speaking population estimated at about 500,000 inhabited these regions of East Prussia. Two maps illustrate the proportion of the Polish-speaking population in town and country. They are based on a Polish analysis of the Prussian school census of 1911.

The impression given by Mr. Wrzesiński's study is that the task of maintaining and expanding Polish national consciousness in these territories was almost hopeless. This was due not only to the systematic German violation of legal minority rights, the use of economic pressure and physical terror, but also to the peculiarities of the social structure, regional differences, and the inability of the Polish government to provide effective support. The greatest problem of all lay in the fact that for the largest Polish-speaking group, the Mazovians, the Polish language was part of the tradition of village life and was not linked with national consciousness. While there was great dissatisfaction among the Mazovians with the continuing discrimination in favor of ethnic Germans after the plebiscite, this feeling expressed itself in separatist Mazurian organizations. Moreover, almost 40 per cent of this population worked in Westphalia, returning home to retire; the majority was Protestant; and the younger generation was almost completely Germanized. Most of the younger people entered the ranks of the Nazi party.

Wrzesiński, basing his study on the archives of the *Heimatdienst*, the *Bund Deutscher Osten*, Polish consular reports, and archives in Merseburg, traces the unequal struggle in great detail, revealing the methods of both sides. The Polish minority concentrated its efforts on schools and newspapers, and it is in these sectors that German repression was most brutal. When economic pressure did not suffice, teachers and parents were subjected to physical terror. The *Heimatdienst* and the *Bund Deutscher Osten*, founded in 1933, organized counteraction to the Polish movement. The early Nazi onslaught almost destroyed the existing Polish organizations but the Nonaggression Pact of 1934 allowed them to rebuild. Nevertheless, the fact that the leadership was very small and that the Mazovians in particular totally lacked a Polish-oriented intelligentsia meant that repressive measures were far more effective in East Prussia than in Upper Silesia.

This painstakingly documented book is an excellent study of the Polish minor-

ity problems of this area. The author complains of the inaccessibility of West German archives to Polish scholars, but acknowledges the use of some microfilm material obtained by a colleague from the *Auswärtiges Amt* in Bonn. It seems also that his criticism of the Polish government for not extending effective aid is a little harsh. It may be that the Polish government did not sufficiently realize the nature of the problem, but in order to give really effective help, Poland would have to have been a wealthier and stronger state than it was after 1918. In any case, the Polish movement in East Prussia, small and weak as it was, worried Berlin sufficiently to warrant the expenditure of much effort and money in combating it.

University of Toronto

ANNA M. CIENCIALA

WHY LENIN? WHY STALIN? A REAPPRAISAL OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1900–1930. By *Theodore H. Von Laue*. [Critical Periods of History.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. 242. \$3.95.)

IMPRESSIONS OF LENIN. By *Angelica Balabanoff*. Translated by *Isotta Cesari*. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1964. Pp. xxii, 152. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Von Laue aims to provide in this stimulating book a “novel explanation of the rise of Lenin and Stalin” and to “view the emergence of Russian communism as an integral part of European and global history. . . .” He interprets Russian history, especially from the second half of the nineteenth century onward, as revolving around two “parallel, long-range necessities”: first, “the people of Russia and their government, and also the underprivileged and the privileged strata of society, had to be more effectively related to each other than had been customary—or possible under the tsars,” and, second, “both Russian society and government, privileged and underprivileged, had to undergo a drastic process of modernization (enforced in the last analysis, from without, by the relentless pressure of power politics).” These dual “necessities” gave the Russian Revolution its special character and “established a new category, the revolution of the underdeveloped countries.” The author is fully aware of the strong element of historical determinism in his essay: “It may seem . . . that this essay has pressed the course of modern Russian history into an unduly determinist cast.” But he insists that “denying the validity of such pre-arrangement means overlooking the most crucial aspect of the Russian revolution.”

For many readers this element of preordainment will be unconvincing. It is a truism that the backwardness of Russia vis-à-vis Western countries is a potent factor in its history, but to interpret the specific course of recent Russian history as a direct and inevitable consequence of this factor is to obscure many alternative possibilities. Thus the author writes of Russia’s entry into World War I that “under any circumstances, war was an inescapable contingency. . . .” He insists equally firmly that “liberal democracy in Russia could never have been more than a brief transition phase.” Or later, Constituent Assembly election results notwithstanding,

the Bolshevik dictatorship "represented the best balance of social and political forces possible under the circumstances." Even the unsavory aspects of Stalinist rule can be accommodated: "If there entered with Stalin an element of retrogression, it came, inevitably, as a result of Russian backwardness." Little importance or attention is given to the complex alternatives that faced the leadership, and the abstract "necessities" of history virtually replace Communist doctrine as the chief formative influence of Soviet history.

Whether one accepts or rejects the author's thesis, he is bound to find the essay extraordinarily stimulating. It is the product of a learned and profound mind, written with impressive skill and style. Unlike others of a comparably determinist cast of mind, Von Laue has not allowed his critical vision, or his sense of moral judgment, to be obscured. His criticisms of the Bolsheviks are often exceedingly sharp, and there is no optimism in his conclusion that "the totalitarian revolution from above. . . will never enable Soviet Russia to overtake its capitalist rivals for it deprives its subjects of the essence of cultural creativity, of freedom." Russia's historical predicament deprives it of the possibility of possessing that freedom, for "the tragedy of modern Russian history lies in the fatal incompatibility of spontaneity and political discipline, the inseparable partners of successful statehood."

Angelica Balabanoff's *Impressions of Lenin* can be profitably read along with Von Laue's essay, for her emphasis is upon the importance of human values and human choices in the making of Soviet history. The author belonged to that small company of dedicated revolutionaries created by the political and social turmoil of prerevolutionary Russia. A revolutionary socialist in her years of exile, she worked for a number of years with the Italian Socialist party and first met Lenin while a participant in the conferences of antiwar socialists in Switzerland during the First World War. Her impressions of Lenin cover several encounters during the war, but are especially detailed for the eventful years immediately following. Though she became a member of the Communist party, the author never abandoned her democratic socialist views and was unable to reconcile herself to Bolshevik doctrine and practice.

The key to Russia's sad destiny under Bolshevism is to be found in the ideas of the Bolshevik leaders themselves, especially Lenin's moral expediency. The theme of the evils of Leninist moral expediency in politics is at times repetitive, but the illustrations are of such an intimate and fascinating personal kind as to have great value and interest. The book is not a profound or thorough critique of Leninism, but it provides a humane and appealing picture of Lenin, as well as Gorky, Zinoviev, Trotsky, and prominent European socialist leaders. It also offers interesting personal reminiscences about episodes in the history of the Comintern and of the Soviet government that are valuable material for the historian.

University of Kansas

HERBERT J. ELLISON

SOVIET PARTISANS IN WORLD WAR II. Edited by *John A. Armstrong*.

With a foreword by *Philip E. Mosely*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 792. \$12.50.)

IN the early 1950's the United States Air Force sponsored a research program on Soviet irregular operations during the Second World War, based on Russian documents originally captured on the eastern front and on German Army material such as situation reports and prisoner interrogations of antipartisan units. The findings of this project are now published in condensed and somewhat revised form. In an introductory chapter, which incorporates some postwar Russian accounts that have recently become available, John A. Armstrong sums up the political and military role of the partisans in Soviet strategy and evaluates their achievements in the occupied areas. The main body of the work consists of contributions by Armstrong, Alexander Dallin, Kurt DeWitt, Ralph Mavrogordato, Wilhelm Moll, Gerhard L. Weinberg, and Earl Ziemke. Analyses of the composition, organization, and command structure of the partisan groups, their dealings with the civilian population, their intelligence functions, and the part played by air power in supporting and combating guerrillas are followed by five case studies that trace the fortunes of partisan bands in specific areas. The authors' approach is historical; only occasionally does their reconstruction of the past slide into a discussion of present-day problems of irregular warfare, for example, in Weinberg's speculations on the potential of air power in antiguerrilla operations or in the concluding paragraph of Armstrong's study of partisan defeats in the Dnieper bend region. An appendix prints translations of seventy-four Russian and German documents in whole or in part.

The fragmentary nature of their sources and the heavy reliance on German material occasionally cause the contributors to resort to guesswork. They are more reliable on the German response to the partisans than on the partisans themselves. In particular, much remains to be learned about the workings of the higher political and military echelons that directed the guerrillas. This book, nevertheless, constitutes a solid advance in the exploration of an important and complex aspect of the war. The studies clearly bring out the great diversity of the partisan experience. The success of the bands, that is, their temporary survival, depended not alone on the qualities of the leaders and on the training and morale of the men and women under their command, but also on the geographic, economic, and ethnographic characteristics of the area, the nearness to the front, the particular mission, and the intentions and capabilities of their opponents. The partisans fought in considerable isolation, but at times irregular and regular operations could be closely coordinated: on the central front one roving band supported the 1944 summer offensive of the Red Army with thousands of attacks on German supply lines. Military functions and successes were, however, less significant than the partisans' political mission: the maintenance of the Soviet presence in the occupied territories. In the absence of the regular administration, the partisans continued to exert political control over the population by means of propaganda

and terror. Their task met with resistance while the invaders appeared victorious, but readiness to collaborate weakened when the German retreats began. Unwillingness to support a losing cause was deepened by the inept and brutal policies of the occupying authorities, which rendered any true collaboration between Slav and German out of the question. The Germans' ideological and material inadequacies were aggravated and exploited by the partisan bands. The very existence of the guerrillas could be read as a demonstration of the ideological cohesion of the Russian people; it was not the least of their achievements that their activities during the war facilitated the Soviets' program of political reconstruction after 1945.

University of California, Davis

PETER PARET

THE SOVIET BLOC: UNITY AND CONFLICT. By Zbigniew K. Brzezinski.

[Russian Research Center Studies, Number 37. Center for International Affairs Studies, Number 1.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1960. Pp. xxii, 470. \$7.75.)

It is probably accepted today by most, although by no means all, observers of Soviet affairs that the monolithic bloc of Communist states of Stalin's day has given way to a more loosely organized system in which various forms of autonomy are practiced. This diversity is generally dated from the Polish and Hungarian revolutions of 1956 and their respective aftermaths. Such an analysis unfortunately oversimplifies and, to some extent, belies the historical development of Communist control in East Europe. It is only when a complete historical analysis of the experience of East Europe under Communism is attempted that any meaningful analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet bloc is evident. Professor Brzezinski has attempted such an analysis in his study, and the results are most impressive.

One of the problems of any assessment of East Europe, past or present, is that there really is no such area, save as a geographical expression. Except for specific instances, Rumanians generally do not identify themselves with Bulgarians or Hungarians; Poles are usually not that concerned about Albanians; and, one might generalize, East Europeans do not see themselves as an identifiable group with mutual interests. The only bond of unity has been external force, be it from the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburgs, or the Red Army. Thus while unity has often been imposed from above, diversity has more often been the natural activity of the nationalities involved. Brzezinski has aptly grasped the national differences and explored the impact on national needs and pressures.

On first view the author seems to have given a disproportionate amount of attention to Poland, and, in view of current polemics in the Communist camp, an insufficient coverage of the Chinese situation. This is not necessarily a flaw. There is an obvious question as to whether Communist China ever belonged to a Soviet bloc, and, in any case, the events surrounding the Sino-Soviet dispute are not

necessarily the dominating cause of diversity on the Soviet bloc. The emphasis on Poland is equally justifiable. Poland has always been a touchstone of Soviet foreign policy and, if one disregards the 1948 defection of Yugoslavia, could be designated as the originator of what the author terms "domesticism." (Brzezinski prefers the term "domesticism" to the more striking designation "national communism," a phenomenon that better describes the short-lived Nagy regime in Hungary.)

Any book spanning such a diversity of groups and nationalities is bound to leave readers unhappy with some aspect of its coverage. To me, the slight attention given to the Balkan area, except Yugoslavia, appears unfortunate. The rather unique position of Albania, for example, is inadequately treated and even then only as an afterthought. This deficiency, however, cannot detract from the major merit of the book: an original and incisive analysis of the dynamics of leadership in the Communist camp and of the national factors that condition this leadership. Without an understanding of these dynamics, no intelligent analysis of the causes of unity and conflict is possible.

Duke University

WARREN LERNER

Africa

AFRICA AND THE COMMUNIST WORLD. Edited by *Zbigniew Brzezinski*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. 1963. Pp. xii, 272. \$5.00.)

BRZEZINSKI, professor of government and director of the Research Institute on Communist Affairs at Columbia University, and seven other knowledgeable Africanists have written the first comprehensive analysis in English of recent Communist policies toward Africa. Alexander Dallin, professor of international relations and director of the Russian Institute at Columbia, after a perceptive examination of the literature in Russian and Western European languages and in English, concludes that "for the time being, attempts at direct Soviet control have been consciously laid aside." The Kremlin has decided that the African revolution was not essential to spark revolution in the West; nor could the Western imperialistic powers be defeated by merely depriving them of their colonies. The Soviet Union "simply takes it for granted that eventually Africa is bound to gravitate toward 'the socialist camp.'"

Soviet economists similarly have found no pat answers for economic penetration. Professor Alexander Erlich, a staff member of the Russian Institute at Columbia, and Christian R. Sonne, a practitioner in international finance, demonstrate that investment aid in Africa would "absorb resources badly needed for the expansion of Soviet productive and military potential and for going at least a part of the way toward meeting the 'revolution of rising expectation' within the Soviet Union."

The "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe also have had difficulty in

formulating an effective and ideologically sound policy toward sub-Saharan Africa. For example, as Robert and Elizabeth Bass, coeditors of *The Soviet-Yugoslav Controversy*, point out, these Eastern European nations in the early 1960's were expanding trade with "Black" Africa; at the same time South Africa remained Eastern Europe's oldest and third largest trading partner in Africa. The expansion of trade with new African nations continued despite maltreatment of African students in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia (as well as in the Soviet Union). Trade between the new African nations and individual members of the Communist bloc might give it temporary advantages, but it is unlikely in the long run greatly to influence "Africa's own distinctive society and institutions." William E. Griffith, director of the International Communism Project of the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who traveled with Brzezinski in Africa during the late summer of 1962, doubts that Yugoslavia will have a major influence upon the thoughts and actions of the new African states.

After the Bandung Conference of 1955, Communist China sought to play an increasingly active role in sub-Saharan Africa. In the opinion of Richard Lowenthal, professor of international relations at the Free University of Berlin, China could not compete in economic development and trade with other Communist states. The Chinese made broad hints about their solidarity with other colored peoples and about Soviet affinity with white imperialists. The Soviet Union, especially after the Sino-Soviet conflict became more open and bitter, warned Africans against Chinese "adventurism." Their efforts to discredit each other increased the disenchantment of many responsible leaders with both nations.

Brzezinski's perceptive concluding chapter offers the ironic perspective that "if the African states succeed in retaining their external political and ideological independence of the Communist world and do not commit themselves to totalitarian dictatorships at home, Communism will be 'subjectively' claiming victory for an 'objective' defeat."

Many readers of this indispensable book may be irresistibly impelled to the observation that Africa is as much of an enigma to the Communist world as the Soviet Union was to Winston Churchill.

Howard University

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Asia and the East

THE STRUCTURE OF POWER IN NORTH CHINA DURING THE FIVE DYNASTIES. By *Wang Gungwu*. (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. viii, 257. \$10.10.)

As its title suggests, this is a book about political power. It is a lean account, giving little of the background drawn from social, intellectual, and cultural history, and

indulging only sparingly in interpretation and generalization. It is, however, a very important book. When studied in the manner that its style demands, it reveals the shifts in power structure that gave the Sung period (960-1279) much of its political character, and that imparted the essential form to Chinese society and government in the whole later period of Chinese imperial history.

The period of the Five Dynasties, from the ending of the T'ang epoch in 907 to the accession of the Sung founder in 960, has been regarded as a backwash of Chinese history. Throughout the period China remained a cultural unity and was obsessed with the ideal of political reunification, but the internal structure of power had disintegrated into a militarized regionalism that defied attempts to achieve the larger integration. The important centers of power were in the north, close to the threatened boundaries with the nomadic steppe. Most important of the border peoples were the Sha-t'o Turks, allies of the declining T'ang state. Though in large part rapidly assimilating culturally, they nonetheless remained a politically divisive element; they controlled much of the military power in the north and were responsible for several of the dynastic efforts of the period. The Tanguts of the northwest were active, and the Khitan tribes from the northeast frontiers also invaded, in 947, to lay the foundation for their subsequent role in Chinese history as the Liao dynasty. Thus it was a period in which a confusion of internal and external forces spawned "Five Dynasties and Ten States," to use the traditional Chinese designation of the era. And because this confusion was proof to the traditional historian that the era lacked value, it has remained relatively unstudied and inadequately understood.

Professor Wang Gungwu has performed an outstanding task, bringing light into this tangled age and finding pattern underlying its surface confusion. His study, originally submitted as a doctoral thesis at the University of London, draws widely on Chinese traditional sources, on modern Chinese and Japanese scholarship, and on most of the limited Western scholarship that bears on the period (although he rather pointedly rejects W. Eberhard's sociological studies, especially his *Conquerors and Rulers*). He quite properly begins his account with the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao (875-884) and with an analysis of the system of military governorships (*chieh tu shih*) in the last three reigns of the T'ang dynasty. And although we might wish he had carried the study further in time, he can justify his selection of the Khitan invasions of 947-950 as the terminal point of his detailed account, thus excluding the last of the Five Dynasties. And the culmination of the developments he is studying is reached only in the institutional adaptations of the first two reigns of the Sung (960-998).

Thus this study focuses on the first half of the troubled century of transition from "medieval" T'ang to "modern" Sung (to use designations that Wang has avoided). But in the period dealt with here in detail, we are enabled to understand more clearly the developing pattern of the new power structure that prefigured all of subsequent Chinese history. The essential elements of the story are the eradication of late T'ang eunuch power and the development of palace commissioners to

fill the vacuum, the rise of literati bureaucrats to replace the disappearing aristocratic officialdom, and what Wang describes as the transformation of the system of military governorships into an aspect of the central authority, accompanied by a general reorganization of provincial administration. In delineating these shifts and changes, the author has contributed greatly to our awareness of the cumulative growth and the continuity of institutional history. The book is replete with tables, maps, and lists and is fully documented. It concludes with fifty pages of appendixes, bibliographies, and index. Perhaps it lacks most seriously a summary discussion, interpreting the meaning of its specific subject matter in relation to the larger scope of Chinese history. But one suspects that the author has put this task aside until his own researches have gone further. Students of China have long awaited a historian of this period; they will be glad to anticipate forthcoming works from this scholar.

Princeton University

F. W. MORE

TŌA SHI KENKYŪ: MANSHŪ HEN [Studies on the History of Far East: Manchuria]. By *Sei Wada*. [The Tōyō Bunko Publications, Series A, Number 37.] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko. 1955. Pp. 674, 16, 12.)

TŌA SHI KENKYŪ: MŌKO HEN [Studies on the History of Far East: Mongolia]. By *Sei Wada*. [The Tōyō Bunko Publications, Series A, Number 42.] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko. 1959. Pp. 938, 34, 18.)

THESE two volumes contain thirty-five monographs representing the author's long academic career. Wada (1890-1963) was a foremost authority on Manchurian and Mongolian history, in particular of the Ming period. He was also a well-known collector of rare Chinese documents, which formed a basis of the valuable *Tōyō Bunko* (Oriental Library) holdings. Starting out as a student of Kurachi Shiratori at Tokyo Imperial University, he joined its faculty in 1922, remaining there until 1951. It is estimated that he trained nearly four hundred students of Chinese history. This was five times the number of students at the university who specialized in Oriental history between 1888 and 1926. Wada thus became a Sinologist just when the study of China was attracting more and better students.

It is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that the author was a founder of present-day Sinology in Japan. His monographs are thus an interesting index of the type of education that many leading China specialists of today have experienced. Wada's approach is essentially textual, concerned with elucidation of names and terms that appear in documents. He is especially interested in what he calls historical geography and in investigating the location of areas mentioned in the sources. Through carefully comparing various texts he tries to find out the actual location, for example, of a Korean province administered by the Han Empire or of the region from which Nurhachi's ancestors are said to have originated. After posing such a problem, the author proceeds to examine the existing solutions, often

finds them inadequate, advances his own solution based on fresh reading of the sources, mentions possible contradictions that may arise between his new solution and other relevant data, further analyzes these problems, and if possible makes a field trip to verify his hypothesis. On the whole Wada shies away from anthropological, sociological, or psychological approaches, and he is not concerned with offering sweeping generalizations. Such an attitude still seems representative of at least part of Japanese Sinology today.

These monographs, however, are not merely specialized studies on technical subjects. For those willing to generalize, they offer much documentation that can be utilized. One notices, for example, that these studies all concern the expansion, consolidation, and contraction of the Chinese Empire. They present valuable data on the limits of imperial administration, modes of governing distant provinces, population movement, transportation systems, frontier defense, interaction between different peoples, and symptoms of disunion. In other words, the author offers a documentary history of Chinese imperialism, primarily under the Ming but on occasion going back to the Han dynasty. These volumes are useful in determining how a Chinese empire of the past expanded and dealt with internal rebellions and external threat, how the Chinese system differed from the Roman system, and how present-day Chinese imperialism deviates from the historical pattern. Students of Chinese history, and of comparative politics and international relations, must be grateful to the *Tōyō Bunrō* for assembling and publishing these studies.

Harvard University

AKIRA IRIYE

AN INSTANCE OF TREASON: OZAKI HOTSUMI AND THE SORGE SPY RING. By *Chalmers Johnson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. 278. \$6.50.)

THIS biography of Hotsumi Ozaki—a highly respected Japanese journalist and government adviser on China, who was also a Communist and a spy for the Soviet Union—is an interesting one. The author anticipated that his effort to construct Ozaki's "private vision" should provide insight into the intellectual life of prewar Japan, and perhaps into the problem of "political action by committed intellectuals everywhere." Only to a degree is this accomplished, limited in reality to Ozaki.

The book purports to be the first complete account in English of the Sorge spy case, which is characterized as the "most brilliantly successful espionage operation of the twentieth century." It also appears to be a rebuttal against the other principal book on this subject (Willoughby, *Shanghai Conspiracy, The Sorge Spy Ring* [1952]).

Johnson has done prodigious research, and without aid of such a bountiful staff as Willoughby enjoyed, but he has fallen victim to the same error as Willoughby in apparently unreserved acceptance of any evidence favoring his case and avoidance of any that does not. He seems to accept without question the Japanese

assurance that pertinent records were destroyed in air raids—"only fragments that were in the personal possession of Yoshikawa have survived"—while noting without wonder that comparable records "have been discovered in Japan" and that these are to be published during 1964.

As anyone who was with the US Strategic Bombing Survey or other postwar services in Japan knows, "destruction in air raids" was a standard Japanese euphemism to conceal the existence of documents, and in many cases such documents eventually came to light. The "fragments" in the possession of Yoshikawa (chief prosecutor in the Sorge trials) are surely what he and the Japanese government decided to make public.

The author's conclusions as to whether Ozaki and Sorge were tortured while in police custody are open to question. Certainly Ozaki's friends could have done little to protect him from police duress in wartime Japan. The analogy of Sorge with T. E. Lawrence as intellectual adventurers may not be farfetched, but it must be clearly limited, since no one has ever even hinted that Sorge was homosexual. Since Bunshiro Suzuki died in February 1951, it is curious to cite his remembrances in the present tense in 1964. The Soviets finally acknowledged Sorge to have been their spy in a *Pravda* article dated September 4, 1964.

It would be interesting to know the identity of others in Sorge's spy ring, especially that most important "first confidant" whom he identified in 1941 simply as "Wang," and whom Johnson presumes to have been Chinese. The name could easily have been a cover; perhaps for someone of far greater public import and note than Hotsumi Ozaki.

Some offerings of Romanized clauses in Japanese appear gratuitous (as, "a right-wing adventurer" [*uyoku rōnin*]), and the use of the Japanese sequence of Japanese personal names not only seems unreasoned, but is unnecessary and sometimes confusing (even to one familiar with that language).

This book is either naïve or severely prejudiced in labeling Sorge's spy ring as "the most fantastically successful espionage operation of World War II." Many other divulged espionage operations were at least as successful in their missions, and more successful in not suffering untimely exposure.

Sorge's real influence, and thus the importance of his spy ring and its members, still cannot be measured. It has been said that Sorge influenced Japan to strike south rather than against the Soviet Union, but, whatever Japan's ultimate plan, it needed the raw materials from the south and had to risk war with the United States to get them. These deductions were made by Hector C. Bywater (*Seapower in the Pacific*) as early as 1921.

There are very few errors in translation and transliteration, and these are readily forgivable compared with the many noted in the Willoughby book. We are grateful to Johnson for providing balance against Willoughby's volume. Truth probably lies somewhere between the two versions.

Washington, D. C.

ROGER PINEAU

Americas

AMERICAN GROWTH AND THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS: A STUDY OF THE LONG SWING. By *Jeffrey G. Williamson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 298. \$7.50.)

THIS book was written for economists and economic historians, not for historians in general, but the last group will gather from it that the potential usefulness of economic theory, to historians, has been increasing since World War I, as national and international experiences with economic and political change have inspired more vigorous efforts to explain causes and effects. Some specialists in economic theory have concluded that the most fruitful theorizing depends on conjunction of conceptual continuities with meaningful application to contemporary problems. Searching for such "meaningful application to contemporary problems," every important postwar government has placed economic planning on its agenda and economic planners at its council tables. Attempting "fruitful theorizing," economists have especially essayed concepts of America's "continuities," largely because of its recent predominant influence.

There has emerged a fairly general consensus that America's phenomenal long-term growth has been punctuated by short-term business cycles of around four years' average duration and "Kuznets" long swings of around twenty years; of the latter there were five in the nineteenth century and two more before 1939. Economists have studied intensively the periods of acceleration and deceleration, trying to calculate the timing and rates of change in economic factors, meanwhile accumulating much statistical research, often generously circulated in the form of unpublished manuscripts. Of late, America's balance of payments difficulties have polarized activities.

All this has provided materials and impetus for Williamson's amplified doctoral dissertation, directed by Moses Abramowitz, notable for his sense of history and his analyses of long swings. Avoiding outright endorsement of the long swing as an explanation of internal development or as a self-generating phenomenon (points on which opinions differ), Williamson develops the relationship between America's pace of growth and the movement of goods, gold, and capital over the borders, 1820-1913. He finds that the long swing in the pace of real domestic development was the major cause of fluctuations in both net capital flows and the trade balance. On the upswing of a Kuznets cycle the demand for goods ultimately worsened the trade balance, inducing dollar scarcity; meanwhile rapid growth generated securities (largely financing transportation and other construction development) purchased by foreigners, who thereby converted the potential increase in the balance of payments deficit into a balance of payments improvement. Conversely, on the downswing of a Kuznets cycle the fall in the American demand for goods ultimately improved the trade balance, generating dollar surplus, while foreign investors withdrew, worsening the balance of payments. In

closing he suggests that current planners look to history, lest overconcern for the balance of payments deficit perpetuate a long-run dollar problem. This is Williamson's historical analysis abbreviated to oversimplified terms. He fortifies it with sixty-nine tables and thirty-seven charts. I think he pretty well makes his case.

University of Pennsylvania

JEANNETTE P. NICHOLS

THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1607-1763. By *Clarence L. Ver Steeg*. [The Making of America.] (New York: Hill and Wang. 1964. Pp. vi, 342. \$5.00.)

Works commissioned for a series too often rehash the author's earlier productions, but in this case Clarence Ver Steeg has written an entirely fresh study. It is a very interesting one, which incorporates late scholarly research and contains many new ideas. As David Donald says in the foreword, Ver Steeg has drawn upon the insights of social psychology, sociology, and other social sciences. Since this is a current trend, this work may be regarded as indicative of a tendency in historical writing.

Although highly interpretive, the book presents a broad coverage and cannot be reduced to a single thesis or orientation. Fully a fourth of it is devoted to religious, cultural, and intellectual matters, and these chapters are its strong point. Political ideas are neglected, possibly in order to avoid writing colonial history from the viewpoint of the Revolution. For the same reason, perhaps, Anglo-American differences are not emphasized. It is noteworthy that Ver Steeg does not succumb to the kind of revisionism that would deny the class structure of colonial society. Acknowledging late re-estimates of the extent of suffrage, he distinguishes between the right to vote and popular rule. While he admits a high degree of mobility in colonial society, the rise of a native elite and its consolidation of political and economic power are among his main themes.

Most illustrative of current trends in historical writing is the resolute avoidance of any emphasis upon class or sectional interests as determinants. The Tawney-Weber thesis has completely dropped out of the treatment of Puritanism; neither in England nor in America is Puritanism linked with social class. The vicissitudes of the Puritan experiment in seventeenth-century Massachusetts are ascribed to religious motivation. And although Ver Steeg declares that the Turner thesis holds for the first American West, sectional differences hardly enter into his description of government, politics, society, or the course of events. He manages in fact to deal with a whole range of subjects that imply a diversity of social or economic interest without taking any particular note of sectional or class differences. Sometimes this is accomplished by omission, as, for example, by not discussing the eighteenth-century migration into the middle and southern back country or by ignoring the events preceding the Conestoga massacre.

More interesting, however, is his attempt to rise above material conflicts by couching explanations in psychological terms. One of the book's more novel

theses is the connection drawn between Bacon's Rebellion, Leisler's Rebellion, and the Salem witchcraft trials, all of which are said to reflect general social unrest arising from a sense of "insecurity." Ver Steeg pictures American society toward the end of the seventeenth century as one of intense social mobility modified by the emergence of a native elite that grasped at political and economic power but was uncertain of its prospects, both with respect to antagonistic forces at home and the threat of English dictation in colonial affairs. Although this section is rather impressionistic, and Ver Steeg fails to make the matter clear, he says that this period of unrest and disorder "did not reflect primarily a conflict between rich and poor, haves and have-nots, gentlemen and yeomen, seaboard and back country, merchant and farmer. Instead, the unrest reflected the insecurity of every man. No one, irrespective of his success, was assured of his present status, much less of his future status." This thesis is rather startling. Most of what is discussed in extending it relates to economic and social interests in one way or another, yet Ver Steeg does not regard these in themselves as primarily responsible for events. Along with other factors, they are contributory to a state of mind, which is the determining cause. The psychological explanation is paramount.

The concept of insecurity as developed in several fields of social science may illuminate a certain range of group behavior; it will scarcely explain the underlying tendency of events. Nevertheless, if concepts drawn from the social sciences can be applied with any degree of rigor and verifiability, they may give new dimensions to historical study.

Queens College

E. JAMES FERGUSON

VIRGINIA, 1705-1786: DEMOCRACY OR ARISTOCRACY? By *Robert E. and B. Katherine Brown*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1964. Pp. 333. \$8.50.)

PROFESSOR and Mrs. Brown pose the question: "Virginia, 1705-1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?" This is a fair question to ask, but at the end of their text it is still unanswered. The principal reason for this failure is that nowhere in the book are the key words "aristocracy" and "democracy" precisely defined; nor do the authors attempt to describe or analyze what an aristocratic society was like in the eighteenth century or what a democratic society would have been like. But the reader is left without any possible doubt whatever that the Browns, having looked upon Virginia carefully, have found it both democratic and good.

Aristocracy was a way of life long accepted by people of all degrees before any democratic aspirations made headway. The best-informed contemporaries, including Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, thought that an aristocracy ruled the old Virginia in their time, and so have many historians and others who have written about it since (whom the Browns, as in their other writings, go out of their way to find deficient). These industrious scholars have not succeeded in this book

in proving that colonial Virginia either was not governed by what Jefferson dubbed "a patrician order" or that it was a democracy.

The authors assume that aristocracy is and was "a bad thing" and that democracy was and is "a good thing," which is all right for our own day, but to read good and bad back from the present is to apply twentieth-century concepts and standards to an age that was deprived of knowing anything about aristocracy's or democracy's latter-day merits and weaknesses. Understanding in the present instance can be achieved only by coming up to mid-eighteenth-century Virginia from earlier times, and by possessing a sound knowledge of the English aristocracy which the Virginians tried so hard to imitate. For all their praiseworthy, deep, and extensive researches, the Browns have not been able to grasp what the essence of an aristocratic society really is; and for all their usefulness as tools, statistical tables cannot convey to scholars or interested lay readers a feeling, as well as an understanding, of the ethos and atmosphere (the revealing nuances and subtleties of peoples' relations with each other) so vital to a comprehension of any society.

Recently the statistical samplings in Brown's book on Massachusetts have been seriously questioned; in the present volume a similar objection arises, as evidence damaging to the authors' thesis is almost totally ignored. And it would be difficult to conceive of a more thorough misreading of Robert Munford's play *The Candidates* than the Browns have given it. Perhaps their predilections, omissions, and conclusions should be treated by readers with as much circumspection as those works of previous writers on Virginians, whom the authors have condemned out of hand to a man and often, by distortion or quotation out of context, misinterpreted.

This study is, nevertheless, the most useful and informative that the Browns have so far published, for it contains a significant and ample mass of data drawn from unused archives and arranged in orderly fashion. Many teachers will quarry it for their lectures. And someday there will come along a scholar—imaginative, uncommitted, and with a grasp of the inner nature of an aristocracy—who will fuse the data in this book with his own. Then we will get the answer to the question posed by *Virginia, 1705–1786: Democracy or Aristocracy?*

Brown University

CARL BRIDENBAUGH

AMERICA AND EUROPE IN THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JOHN ADAMS. By Edward Handler. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 248. \$5.25.)

THE problems encountered in attempting to comprehend and assess the political writings of John Adams are so great that Mr. Handler's study commands sympathetic respect at the outset. Adams was contradictory, repetitious, disorganized, a scandalous borrower, and never content to have anything but the last word. Yet he has had a generous share of praise from significant scholars like Laski, Par-

rington, and Robert Palmer for his wisdom, his realistic grasp of the forces that popular sovereignty had unleashed, and his often accurate prognostications. It would, I believe, be a mistake to range Handler with those who have taken Adams at face value, as the political theorist of great sagacity that he believed himself to be.

Handler, borrowing, as he admits, from Louis Hartz, presses the thesis that Adams was a far less penetrating critic of the French liberals of 1789 than he might have been because he constantly imposed American conditions and categories upon Europe, while at the same time, as it suited his purpose, he imposed European categories upon the United States. Adams, Handler believes, came close to denying the universal validity of liberty. Rather, he was prone to view it as an almost exclusive possession of Anglo-Americans, the elect of the eighteenth-century revolutionary epoch. Like many American statesmen since, Adams insisted that other nations would not enjoy the fruits of liberty until and unless they imitated the American model; stressing the uniqueness of American conditions, he all but despaired over attempts to follow the design of 1776. The author believes that there is more than one road to heaven and that what makes a study of John Adams' denial of this pertinent is our continuing insistence that the rest of the world adopt our ways and our institutions when it is all too apparent that social, economic, and political realities prevent imitation.

Basically, Handler is concerned with the dialogue between Adams, the constitutional mechanic, and the French liberals who criticized the constitutions adopted by Americans in what they believed was a slavish and potentially dangerous imitation of Britain. The author has carefully studied the *Defence* and the *Discourses*. His chapter on Adams' political science is an admirable critique, certain to be of value to students of American government. He concludes, rightly, that Adams was a liberal and not a Burkean conservative, but a liberal who was obsessed with the Newtonian system, the merits of which he believed universal history proved. Unfortunately, in this view, most of what Adams had to say was largely irrelevant.

Space limitation permits only a suggestion of the problems raised by Handler and of the adverse criticisms that ought to be made. First, to conclude, after what is in large measure a rather devastating review of the man's major works, that Adams is still to be regarded as a significant political analyst seems unmerited. Second, the author has overlooked a body of scholarly work dealing both with the Nationalists and the Antifederalists that would temper considerably his contention that real tensions of an ideological nature did not exist in American society at the time that Adams wrote; this is extremely important if it was his major objective to influence American behavior rather than to score points in an international debate.

Wabash College

STEPHEN G. KURTZ

THE WAR FOR AMERICA, 1775-1783. By Piers Mackesy. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xx, 565. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH studies of the British side of the American War of Independence are scarcely unique, 1964 has witnessed a significant outpouring of writings in that field: Gerald S. Brown's account of Lord George Germain as Colonial Secretary, William B. Willcox's biography of Sir Henry Clinton, and Piers Mackesy's *The War for America*, which concerns us here. Mackesy, a fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford, set for himself the imposing task of writing a comprehensive book about British "strategy and leadership" in a war that ultimately assumed world-wide dimensions. He maintains correctly that the military effort of the North ministry must be examined within the context of eighteenth-century political and administrative machinery. Here is still another instance of the increasing tendency to remove military history from the narrow confines of battlefield operations and to place it within the framework of society as a whole. The author's research in manuscript sources is impressive. The voluminous colonial, Admiralty, and War Office collections in the Public Record Office, though long available for investigation, have seldom been mined so effectively. The result is an important book that no serious student of the War of Independence can afford to neglect.

Older histories, drawing heavily on hostile sources like the *Annual Register* and Horace Walpole's memoirs, portrayed an incompetent Germain as Colonial Secretary, a lethargic Sandwich at the Admiralty, and, in general, a ministry dictating every maneuver of the war in total ignorance of American conditions. In contrast, Mackesy offers British leaders a full measure of sympathy. Their task was to maintain nearly sixty thousand soldiers throughout the Empire, "most of them in a hostile country: a feat never paralleled in the past, and in relative terms never attempted again by any power until the twentieth century." Unlike the Seven Years' War, Britain fought its Bourbon enemies without European allies. After Lexington and Concord, moreover, the country was divided and lacked a leader of Pitt's towering stature. To be sure, there was much administrative inefficiency resulting from departmental friction over transports, supplies, and other matters. But the machinery was not North's creation. It had been used in the previous war, and then, too, it had produced some of the obstacles encountered between 1775 and 1783. So runs the author's theme, and he makes the valid point that even Pitt would have experienced serious trouble directing a struggle far more difficult than the Seven Years' War.

The general approach of this book is unquestionably sound, but inevitably historians will differ over the treatment of men and events in a major war that lasted eight years. It can no longer be denied that Germain possessed energy and some ability; his achievements in dispatching and equipping General William Howe's army in 1776 were praiseworthy indeed. One gets the impression, however, that the author is too inclined to defend Germain at almost every turn. For instance, Germain is absolved of any responsibility for the Saratoga disaster. Cer-

tainly the Colonial Secretary was too far away to control the campaign in detail, but over-all coordination was his responsibility, and it was notably lacking in 1777. It may also be true that the ministry's critics were more than disingenuous in arguing that initially the navy could have blockaded French ports and thus the enemy fleet could have been prevented from seizing the initiative. Willcox, the leading American authority on the British side of the conflict, has maintained that the cabinet's refusal to establish such a blockade was the "most important and disastrous" decision made in London during the entire war. Scholars will welcome this volume, but some of its conclusions will not go unchallenged, including several favorable to British strategy in America.

Louisiana State University

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

A BIOGRAPHY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES: ITS ORIGIN, FORMATION, ADOPTION, INTERPRETATION. By *Broadus Mitchell* and *Louise Pearson Mitchell*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Pp. xvii, 384. Cloth \$6.75, paper \$2.50.)

RENEWED interest in constitutional history makes this book a timely addition to the small shelf of contemporary surveys of American constitutional development. Broadus and Louise Mitchell, both economic historians, the former well-known for his *Depression Decade* and his two-volume study of Hamilton, have written a crisp, if sometimes choppy, narrative of constitution making in 1787 and constitutional change since. More than half the book is on the formation and adoption; a chapter, "Afterthoughts," discusses amendments, and a final chapter examines the role of the Supreme Court.

Although based largely on primary materials, especially Farrand's *Records* and Elliot's *Debates*, the book is intended principally for the nonspecialist. The authors comment freely on the course of events, but no attempt is made at significant new interpretation. The book's most useful features are its detailed chronology in describing the work of the Convention and its emphasis on background aspects of key Court cases. For example, there is an absorbing discussion of the "Wanderings of Dred Scott, Geographical and Judicial."

The Mitchells are very much pro-founding fathers, pro-Constitution, pro-Supreme Court activism—when socially progressive. They rank the Constitution with the assembly line as the two most memorable achievements of American civilization, both "triumphs of organization, of social engineering." The authors reject the Beard thesis, citing Brown, though overlooking McDonald, Benson, and Main. The Constitution was the work of dedicated patriots, they hold, but the relationship of centralism to conservatism in 1787 is not developed. The absence of a Bill of Rights in the original document the authors simply ascribe to the founders' emphasis on organizing powers rather than protecting freedoms.

The long chapter on the Supreme Court, necessarily episodic in concentrating on selected cases from *Marbury v. Madison* to *Baker v. Carr*, is uneven in its au-

thority. Regarding the Court primarily as a political institution, the authors are condescending to judicial procedures: "One often finds citations of precedents cluttering Court decisions." Marshall receives the customary reverence, and the Dartmouth College case, highly rated by the authors, is credited with supplying the necessary confidence to corporate initiative, "without which economic growth would have been long retarded." The Court's long laissez-faire era is sharply criticized, and the authors illuminate well the social opaqueness of the judges. But FDR's dilemma in coping with Court negativism is not appreciated, and his proposal is curtly labeled "ineligible." The Mitchells are very good on the Plessy case, particularly its reinforcement of the growing segregation pattern, and have many proper things to say on the current judicial trends in behalf of civil rights and a more flexible political structure.

The Mitchells have tried to see whole a sweep of constitutional history and yet offer the reader specific analysis and elaboration. For this contribution, despite problems of organization and interpretation, they must be congratulated.

Rutgers University

ARNOLD M. PAUL

CONCEPTS OF INSANITY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1865. By Norman Dain. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xv, 304. \$9.00.)

NORMAN Dain, who served as research assistant in a project financed by the National Institutes of Mental Health to produce a history of American psychiatric thought, points out that the period from the 1780's to the present has seen the "rise, decline, and renaissance of a hopeful attitude toward the mentally ill." Dain limits his own study (also subsidized in part by NIMH) to the period from Richard Rush's career to the resurgence of pessimism by 1865 except in dealing with the shifting faith in "moral treatment," as the method based upon "considerate treatment, occupational therapy, mild exercise" was termed. Here he continues his study to the turn of the century on the ground that "only then can the rise, development, and decline of optimism be properly understood."

The author has approached his subject with a double advantage: training in the methods of historical research and work in the field of psychiatry. An indication of his careful scholarship is the fact that backnotes and bibliography constitute almost a third of his book. So extensive has been his research in primary sources, indeed, that when he contradicts the findings of that inspired journalist Albert Deutsch in *The Mentally Ill in America: A History of Their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times* (2d ed., 1949) and when he disagrees with the generalizations of the psychiatrists Henry M. Hurd, Henry Alden Bunker, and Gregory Zilboorg, the reader, overwhelmed by the sheer weight of the author's evidence, is likely to accept his corrections. Especially interesting is Dain's evaluation of various conclusions regarding such familiar figures as Richard Rush and Dorothea Dix. He suggests that it is an exaggeration to term Rush, as some have,

a precursor of Freud. As for Dix, he absolves her of charges that she was merely interested in the establishment of custodial care for the insane. Her views, he shows, "resembled those of most psychiatrists of her day. . . . She wanted to establish therapeutic hospitals, not places of custody. . . . It was the state legislatures that did not provide the funds and legislation. . . ."

Dain has made a special effort to relate his subject to general developments and concepts because he believes that "much of American psychiatric thought had its origin outside of medicine." So great, indeed, was the inclination of psychiatrists to accept the "prejudices of their socio-economic class" that "at times they abdicated a scientific approach for a religious or moralistic one." Pursuing his purpose of showing how various concepts as well as social and economic trends influenced American psychiatric ideas, he points out that "the shift from pessimism to optimism about the curability of insanity and from emphasis on somatic to psychological forms of treatment coincided with the spirit of reform and humanitarianism in Western Europe and the United States." The later decline in emphasis on psychological aspects of psychosis and its treatment resulted, he concludes, partly from "the desire of psychiatrists to make their specialty as objective as the more advanced sciences of physics or chemistry." The social historian will perhaps regret that the author did not develop these trends more fully, particularly the relationship of his own subject to reform movements of the prewar period. One might wonder, also, why greater consideration was not given to the possible influence upon attitudes toward psychosis that might have been exerted by the increasing use of the temporary insanity plea in American courts. Both Deutsch and Dain neglect to mention its first successful American use in the sensationally reported Daniel E. Sickles trial of 1857.

The book, nevertheless, is a unique contribution; historians have much to gain from such mining of the rich materials in the psychiatric field. It may be hoped that there will be other similar and perhaps even more broadly conceived studies.

Montgomery Junior College

MARY R. DEARING

THE HOLY SEE AND THE NASCENT CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE WESTERN STATES, 1826-1850. By *Robert Frederick Trisco*. [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume CXXV. Series Facultatis Historiae Ecclesiasticae, Section B, Number 21.] (Rome: Gregorian University Press. 1962. Pp. xii, 408. \$5.90.)

ROME prohibits historians from using manuscripts in its archives until a century has passed, and American church historians have, in any case, been preoccupied with the uniquely American aspects of Catholic life. As a result, Father Trisco is the first to make extensive use of the records of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide*, the section of the *Curia* primarily responsible, till 1908, for American affairs. He confines his attention to the years between the creation of the diocese of St. Louis (the third trans-Allegheny diocese) and 1850, when the creation of the archdiocese of St. Louis marked the transition to more or less normal ecclesiastical

government in the Middle West. Most of the *Propaganda* records, apparently, consist of correspondence from American bishops, priests, and occasional laymen, together with replies from Rome; reports of the discussions and actions of the *Congregatio* seem to be rather succinct. Trisco cannot, therefore, contribute much on the inner workings of the *Propaganda*, but he succeeds excellently in illuminating the situations in which its interventions were sought or proffered. His account should interest not only students of Catholic history, but also those concerned with ways in which a central bureaucratic agency affects developments around the world. (Sargent Shriver, for example, might find it a suggestive book.)

The author shows the handicaps *Propaganda* labored under: few of its advisers knew much about the Middle West; the reports with which it had to deal were almost always *ex parte*, and sometimes flat distortions; communication was so poor that even had the *Congregatio* been efficiency itself, delays of a year would have been almost inevitable. Furthermore, Roman officials had difficulty recognizing the nature of Church growth in America; *Propaganda* seems to have thought instinctively of Indians and the handful of whites long resident in an area and to have regarded with considerable skepticism the probability of large-scale immigration. Of course, Rome might have followed a bolder, more entrepreneurial policy had the Church not been short of priests and money.

Most of *Propaganda's* time was spent on the establishment of dioceses, the appointment of bishops, the assignment of priests, and the channeling of material aid to the areas of greatest need. Trisco candidly evaluates the wisdom and folly, the shrewdness and occasional perversity of *Propaganda's* decisions. The reader must conclude from his analysis that, in general, *Propaganda* was too benignly wise to try to impose any very strict, rationalized supervision. It seems, instead, to have been content with exercising a final bureaucratic check upon importunate haste or overweening ambition. The reader is also struck by the nearly universal obedience (if not quite docility) with which the clergy in the Middle West accepted the decisions that Rome made. In an era when the public law and the private ethos encouraged "the dissidence of dissent," this disposition gave the Catholic Church an advantage that no other agency for the redemption of the Middle West enjoyed.

Columbia University

ROBERT D. CROSS

AND TYLER TOO: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN AND JULIA GARDINER TYLER. By Robert Seager II. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963. Pp. xvii, 681. \$12.50.)

By the time one wades through the complicated social, economic, and personal affairs of the multitudinous children, in-laws, and near relatives of John and Julia Gardiner Tyler, he is apt to concede the accuracy of the title of this six-hundred-page encyclopedic biography. In these pages, however, Tyler comes out considerably more than "the last half of a slogan," emerging as a thoroughly gracious,

dignified, and charming champion of the paternalistic oligarchy of tidewater gentlemen already outmoded by King Numbers before his administration began. Furthermore, a temporary immersion in the social world of New York, Washington, and Virginia, as seen through the eyes of one of the great belles of the nineteenth century, is a delightful and rewarding experience in itself. With a deftness in phraseology and a willingness to touch an occasional exposed nerve, Professor Seager guides us painlessly through thousands of family letters to re-create in distinguished fashion an almost forgotten era.

Twenty-nine years happily married to his first wife, John Tyler at fifty-four took a bride thirty years (and a mother-in-law nine years) his junior, to become in time as understanding a father to his second brood of seven children as he was to his first. Perhaps his secret was the indulgence of Julia's every wish and fancy, however expensive. She could spend a hundred acres of wheat on a single costume without batting an eye, and to him the success of her last entertainment as first lady was almost as important as the annexation of Texas. A capable, cautious farmer, Tyler nevertheless ran "Sherwood Forest" as a carefree, prosperous plantation where good hunting, good humor, and social sophistication prevailed. And yet economic existence was a marginal proposition, with Tyler usually in financial trouble, though he never missed a payment nor was he ever denied a loan. He preached and practiced religious toleration and believed in a benevolent slavery, though not on the basis of moral good.

Dwarfed by Clay, Calhoun, Jackson, Douglas, Webster, and Lincoln, Tyler held his own with Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce, and Buchanan. He had no rapport with the masses; in fact, he feared the potential power of the people. Vice-President by default and President by accident, Tyler stuck to his beliefs when it was clear they meant political suicide and historical obscurity, which he desperately wanted to avoid. Still, he departed from strict construction to recommend annexation of Texas by joint resolution and had sense enough to see that the main hope of avoiding civil war lay in the ability of the Democrats to maintain unity across sectional lines. To him in 1856 "the great game is the *Union*, and with Pennsylvania sound, the Union is safe." Nationalist and moderate but shocked by John Brown, Tyler made a last doomed effort to save the Union at the 1861 peace convention before he turned extremist to help take Virginia into the Confederacy. Seager makes no claim of statesmanship.

Though in rejoinder to the Duchess of Sutherland, Julia penned a spirited defense of slavery, she remained naïve and superficial politically. But it is not difficult to believe that Calhoun "repeated verses" to her. Nor that to Julia, as to all the Gardiners, money and social position were the measure of all worth. She and they were quite willing to use the presidency as an instrument in their matrimonial wars, to keep their gentlemen in federal jobs, or even to exploit her husband's franking privilege. To Julia flattery was "the very fountain of her emotional strength and happiness." Yet when the time came, Tyler's widow exhibited the stamina of Scarlet O'Hara. She ran cotton through the blockade for specula-

tion and bought Confederate bonds with the proceeds. As a noted copperhead after her removal to Long Island, she pushed McClellan for the presidency. After the war she experimented with white labor at "Sherwood Forest," and during Reconstruction and agricultural depression she waged a grim and successful fight to retain her land. She joined the Catholic Church and campaigned strenuously for a federal pension. To the last, Julia Gardiner Tyler remained a fascinating woman who knew what she wanted and how to get it.

University of Mississippi

JAMES W. SILVER

PROLOGUE TO CONFLICT: THE CRISIS AND COMPROMISE OF 1850.

By *Holman Hamilton*. ([Lexington:] University of Kentucky Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 236. \$5.00.)

THE history of the Compromise of 1850 has been recounted many times, but intensive exploration of the process of its enactment and the complexity of the forces behind it has been lacking. This is true regarding legislation generally. The pattern of the history of this episode was set many years ago by Von Holst and Rhodes along relatively simple lines, but, despite its general acceptance, it began to be questioned by Hodder and Sioussat early in the century.

Hamilton has made a thorough recanvass of the whole problem. He has re-read the entire *Congressional Globe* account in the light of new evidence contained in large amounts of manuscript and newspaper material together with secondary works made available since the early historians wrote. In the course of this work and of his preparation of a comprehensive biography of President Zachary Taylor, the author has demonstrated how ineffective the old giants in the Senate and the Whigs in general really were. He has also faced the most difficult task of explaining the intricacies of the legislative process in the House. Most novel has been his meticulous analysis of the activities of the lobby.

Despite the victory of Taylor in the election of 1848 the Whigs had lost Congress and were unable to control legislation. The Thirty-first Congress was in fact a body with an unusual number of members, young and new to Washington, who were neither willing to be directed by their elders nor wise through their own experience. After months of fumbling, certain expert Democratic veterans took over. They fought a battle over two formulas of compromise, the 36° 30' line extended to the coast or what was to be called popular sovereignty, and settled on the latter. We learn again the lesson taught by Harmon and Milton of Douglas leadership to which is added the neglected part played by the House Democratic control group of Cobb, Bayly, Boyd, and McClernand.

The most original feature of the study is the story of the lobby work. Within the compromise complex was a proposal to create a fund of ten million dollars to reimburse the holders of the Texas debt. Simultaneously devised and consummated was a land subsidy for a Great Lakes to Gulf railroad. Constant and tireless in lobby activity was the banker, W. W. Corcoran. Hamilton has searched the

Treasury records and tells what they reveal about the holders of the Texas debt who were reimbursed, a number of them men of political significance. From these data he moves into the realm of hypothesis. He analyzes the numerous roll calls in both houses and points out some peculiarities of voting when crucial points were decided by margins of two or three. How much did certain operators use the hope of Texas or railroad profits to influence crucial votes, and, if so, who were so moved? Was Corcoran the chief operator? While specific proofs of lobby influence on individuals so far cannot be adduced, nevertheless an atmosphere has been convincingly re-created, an atmosphere too well understood today. Who won? At first the Democratic establishment and certain speculative interests did; armed conflict was postponed ten years. But events were soon to demonstrate that the popular sovereignty formula had only limited usefulness; the final conflict was not to be prevented by compromise.

Hamilton has performed a huge task valiantly. Though he has not succeeded as completely as he would have liked, we now have what we never had before, a comprehensive analysis that more nearly defines the complex limits of the problem of this intricate legislative episode. The author has added much to our scanty knowledge of the process of federal lawmaking.

University of Pennsylvania

ROY F. NICHOLS

SWORD AND OLIVE BRANCH: OLIVER OTIS HOWARD. By *John A. Carpenter*. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 379. \$6.00.)

It is astonishing that in these days of intense interest in Civil War figures, great and small, we have not until now had a modern biography of General O. O. Howard. After all, Howard not only participated in some of the most important battles of the war, but he was also the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, probably the most ambitious project of federal aid to the underprivileged undertaken in the nineteenth century.

This gap in historiography has been ably filled by John A. Carpenter. Taking full advantage of the rich manuscript sources available, the author has succeeded in producing a full and detailed life of the "Christian Soldier." Generally sympathetic to his hero, he nevertheless recognizes his faults. According to Carpenter, Howard, to a large measure, possessed the ability to learn from mistakes. The disaster at Chancellorsville and the difficulties at Gettysburg taught him how to conduct himself in battle. With the Army of the Cumberland and as commander of the Army of the Tennessee, his record was excellent.

But in these days of intense preoccupation with race relations, Howard's work as head of the Freedmen's Bureau must obviously be reckoned as his most important contribution. The author devotes a substantial portion of the book to this phase of the general's career, and his sympathies evidently lie with those historians who have been taking a new look at the period of Reconstruction.

Critical of Johnson and sympathetic to the Radicals, Carpenter rightly points out that some sort of relief for the freedmen was necessary. Neither local nor state governments in the South were willing to accord to the Negro even a modicum of equal justice, and if the bureau was not perfect, it nevertheless accomplished much in assisting the freedmen, especially in the field of education. The author believes that many of the charges against the agency were politically motivated, and while admitting his hero's carelessness in the expenditure of funds, by and large he shows that Howard's administration was not corrupt, in spite of defalcations of a few subordinates.

Most of these points are well taken. It can, of course, be argued that Howard must bear a large share of responsibility for Hooker's rout at Chancellorsville and that his religious zeal was irksome to many of his fellow soldiers, but it would be difficult to deny to the general a certain measure of independence and competence. Few men of his background were as consistently convinced of the equality of the races, and even fewer took such a lasting interest in education as did the principal founder of Howard and Lincoln Memorial Universities. Carpenter has done well in emphasizing these aspects of the general's career.

All in all, then, this is an important addition to the bibliography of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Possibly the author might have devoted a little more space to the general's military exploits and compressed the portions dealing with his later life, but this shortcoming in no way mars the general impression of this well-written book. It will not be necessary to produce another life of General Howard for some time to come.

Brooklyn College

HANS L. TREFOUSSE

EFFICIENCY AND UPLIFT: SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA, 1890-1920. By *Samuel Haber*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 181. \$5.50.)

FREDERICK W. Taylor, innovator and prophet in "scientific management" and the subject of one major biography and two special studies, has until now remained unaccountably neglected in the intellectual history of American reform. Haber's study serves as a valid plea to other historians of reform to concentrate less on the uplifters and more on the social commentators (Brandeis, Croly, Lippmann, Commons, Veblen, and Morris Cooke) who shared a fervent, Taylor inspired, middle-class enthusiasm for efficiency and order in industry, politics, and social affairs. The author sees uplift and efficiency as two interlocking but separate supports for progressivism, and while he does not insist that reform owed more to one than the other, he is at pains to remind us that the forces often worked at cross purposes. The author has put it strikingly: many Americans who have dissented from the dominant national creeds of equality and self-government and who would challenge them have found flank attacks

more effective than head-on assault. "‘Let the people rule’ is, in part, a rhetorical phrase. Exactly how one lets the people rule is decisive. The progressives who greeted efficiency with enthusiasm were often those who proposed to let the people rule through a program in which the bulk of the people, most of the time, ruled hardly at all. Efficiency provided a standpoint from which those who had declared allegiance to democracy could resist the leveling tendencies of the principle of equality."

Taylor's doctrines of efficiency, in other words, proved congenial to strains of elitism in progressive thought, and while we have all known of those strains, it is Haber's contribution to show how new currents of thought in business, science, and engineering catalyzed them. The elitism of these incipient social engineers was mild enough. It often came to little more than a defense of administrative and executive expertise and a humorless determination to render man's behavior more predictable. It was neither racist nor consciously anti-labor, though it offered no effective answers to class tensions and tended to arouse persistent union mistrust. Traces of this elitism appeared in city governments, in a number of large corporations, in the federal administration of the wartime economy, and in the proposals of early New Dealers. (In discussing these traces, the author is too brief.) For the most part, however, it remained even in the congenial 1920's little more than a conceptual tool for social critics and a sort of businessman's socialism.

From all this it may be correctly inferred that Haber has not written a history of scientific management. Save for his discussion of the Taylor Society, his is the story not of institutions but of ideas and moods. For such a story his sources, mostly the published literature of opinion and exhortation, seem adequate and carefully studied. Haber also has a perceptive eye for character: Taylor was scarcely a lovable figure, but without losing detachment Haber makes him entirely understandable. His analysis of Veblen's relation to reform is incisive; his book as a whole, in fact, cuts into its subject with momentary twists of irony that Veblenites would admire. The book is least satisfactory in relating efficiency to politics: for this we must await the work of others. But whoever intends to cope as a historian with the intellectual traditions of American reform will find Haber's brief study essential.

Stanford University

OTIS PEASE

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS, 1895-1914:
A STUDY IN BUSINESS LEADERSHIP. By *Albert K. Steigerwalt*. [Michigan Business Studies, Volume XVI, Number 2.] ([Ann Arbor:] Bureau of Business Research, Graduate School of Business Administration. 1964. Pp. x, 220. \$8.50.)

Most of us have encountered at some time or other one of those books, so popular at the turn of the century, that celebrated, on the occasion of an anniversary,

the virtues of the local businessmen and the accomplishments of the Pawnee National Bank, Chickering & Company-Grain Merchants, and the Midland Drop Forge Company. Now we find these books—heavy, oversized, their leather bindings turned to russet dust—at the auction of the Yankee Fair or in the folio section of the library stacks, where they are consulted by scholars seeking to study the business elite of some bygone era.

Professor Steigerwalt's book is curiously reminiscent of the genre. Here are found the same slightly stilted rhetoric ("The assembled delegates were welcomed by the Governor whose opening remarks drew applause from the crowd"); the same alliterative chapter titles ("Memberships and Markets," "Programs and Pressures," "Representation and Reform"); even the same stylized portraits (David M. Parry, with wing collar and heavy watch fob, hands resting on the mahogany arms of his chair; J. W. Van Cleave, his belligerent handlebar softened by a white Vandyke, one arm by his side, the other leaning on a marble table top).

These are the stigmata of an earlier age of innocence, and when we encounter them in a book published in 1900, we are delighted by the nostalgia they evoke. When we encounter them in a book published in 1964 they are likely to produce other emotions.

Not that the simplicities of an earlier age are absent from this book. Steigerwalt promises "to present the National Association of Manufacturers fairly, in the light of the aspirations of its members, its capacity to accommodate itself to an increasingly complex and economically interdependent society, its ability to lead, and to make effective its programs and policies not only among its members but also in the community at large." This is an impressive, even a sophisticated, list of problems. Steigerwalt's analysis, however, is not nearly so impressive or so sophisticated.

How do we know that the NAM's accident prevention program was effective? Why, the Eastman Kodak Company and the Ford Motor Company "highly praised the association's activities in the field of accident prevention. . . ." How do we know that the association was successful in increasing foreign trade? "The success of the National Association of Manufacturers in promoting foreign trade was measured at the regular conventions by the rise in exports of manufactures since the previous meeting." Why did the NAM create a publicity bureau? ". . . to serve a useful purpose in keeping the ambitions of the National Association of Manufacturers always in the public eye."

Time and again we meet such edifying observations as that the "association's activity in favor of a department of commerce was strong evidence that the organization was not interested solely in foreign trade," or that "the association's advocacy of cultivating foreign markets for American manufactured goods meant no diminished concern for conserving the home market."

The plain fact is that the author's method could not possibly have produced the answers to the questions that he himself raised. This is no organizational

study; we learn nothing of the social composition of the membership, of the relations between organizational membership and organizational goals, of conflicts between formal and informal leadership. Nor, for all the footnote citations to textbooks, does the author succeed in illuminating the place of the NAM in American life. What we have, rather, is a string of beads, each bead a crystallization of an NAM convention, with Steigerwalt supplying the transitional sentences ("The assembled delegates then followed the other suggestions of the committee on nominations and unanimously elected the proposed candidates. . . . Having completed the election of its officers, the convention adjourned *sine die*"). Steigerwalt's questions implied a capacity to stand outside the NAM, to see aspects of its behavior that even its members could not see; his method precludes that capacity.

Certain sentences, indeed, make one wonder whether the author even wanted to be analyst rather than observer. "The rise of the social gospel in protestant churches, aimed at making the churches an agency for social reform, added another dimension to the public propensity to acquiesce in all manner of utopian schemes" is hardly a judicious assessment. And buried in a footnote on page 110 is an observation that is irrelevant, immaterial, anachronistic, and highly prejudicial. After quoting the comment of David M. Parry, made in 1903, that "union labor was essentially 'a mob-power, knowing no master except its own will,'" Steigerwalt adds: "Some contemporary evidence supporting the Parry thesis is to be found in Robert F. Kennedy, *The Enemy Within*. . . ."

This is the kind of old-time historiography that was neither good enough for father nor for us.

Columbia University

SIGMUND DIAMOND

THE AMERICAN PETROLEUM INDUSTRY: THE AGE OF ENERGY
1899-1959. By *Harold F. Williamson et al.* [Northwestern University Studies
in Business History.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1963.
Pp. xx, 928. \$7.50.)

In 1959 H. F. Williamson and Arnold R. Daum published the first of a two-volume history of the industry, *The American Petroleum Industry: The Age of Illumination 1859-1899*. Four years later they and two colleagues, Ralph L. Andreano and Gilbert C. Klose, published the second volume, *The Age of Energy 1899-1959*. We now have, for the first time, a full-length, comprehensive history of the petroleum industry. For a long time these two volumes will be the standard reference work for scholars, the industry, and general readers.

The Age of Energy emphasizes the industry's transformation as a producer of illuminants and lubricants to that of a major supplier of energy. It is a well-balanced account, treating all phases of the industry. The authors use a combi-

nation chronological and topical approach, the narrative being divided into four major chronological periods and twenty-two chapters.

Part I relates to the rapidly changing character of the industry, 1899-1919: the dissolution of Standard Oil, the spread of production to the Gulf coast, the mid-continent area, and California, rotary drilling and the use of geologists, the leasing of Indian lands and other public lands, the establishment of state regulatory bodies, the growth of interstate pipelines and water transportation, revolutionary changes in refining, competition for foreign markets, and the role played by the industry in World War I.

Part II covers the postwar expansion from 1919 to 1929 with emphasis on the fear of a crude oil shortage and then the efforts to restrict crude production and imports, the establishment of the Federal Oil Conservation Board, the spread of thermal cracking and the legal battles over patents, the development of petrochemicals, the spectacular demand for petroleum products, the extension of retail outlets, and the expansion of the industry outside the United States.

The theme of Part III is depression and recovery from 1930 to 1941. Due to flush production in Oklahoma and east Texas, the depression in the oil industry became exceedingly acute. Through the NIRA and the adoption of conservation and prorationing, measures were taken to control production. Marketing policies also came under NIRA regulations. Other developments were: construction of product pipelines, greater federal regulation of pipelines, catalytic cracking, leasing of service stations, and the decline in the relative importance of the export market.

Part IV deals with World War II and after: the mobilization of the industry before and after Pearl Harbor, transportation problems, the rationing of gasoline, increasing crude production and refining capacity, producing special petroleum products, the return of peace, ending of federal controls, and postwar demands and trends.

The Age of Energy is a stout volume. The authors have based their account upon a vast amount of material, and it is thoroughly documented with footnotes at the end. Pertinent tables, charts, maps, and photographs are scattered throughout the text. The book is attractive in format; the type face and quality of the paper are pleasing to the eye; and the narrative is well organized and written. It will serve as a model for histories of other industries.

Hamline University

PAUL H. GIDDENS

INTERVENTION AND DOLLAR DIPLOMACY IN THE CARIBBEAN, 1900-1921. By *Dana G. Munro*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 553. \$12.00.)

THIRTY years ago, shortly after he had served as chief of the Latin American desk in the State Department, Mr. Munro published a short analysis of American policies in the Caribbean. He has now expanded a portion of that work into a five-

hundred-page examination of the 1900–1921 era. Despite several important volumes published in recent years that have illuminated the influence of American business interests in the Caribbean before 1921, Munro reiterates his thesis of three decades ago: Washington officials who shaped the unfortunate interventionist policies of those years were guided by motives “basically political rather than economic.” Munro brings to this work not only his background in the State Department, but also his experience as director of Princeton’s Woodrow Wilson School of International Relations and as president of the Foreign Bondholders’ Protective Council.

Because of the author’s background and his exhaustive work in the State Department archives, this book deserves attention. One of the subordinate themes, that the State Department often went to great lengths to root out British, French, and German financial interests, whether or not those interests implied political power, is important. So are the several references to the American use of Díaz’ Mexico as front man for United States interests in Central America. Munro also demonstrates that basic American policy remained the same regardless of whether it was cloaked with Roosevelt’s ideology of power, Taft’s avowed dollar diplomacy, or Wilson’s lip service to anti-imperialism.

But the facts packed into the first eleven chapters belie the first conclusion of the summary chapter, that the advancement of American business interests into the area was not a primary concern of the State Department. Despite this thesis, Munro is too scholarly to omit the key roles played by business interests in the forcing of the Roosevelt Corollary, and in Nicaragua in 1909–1912, Haiti in 1912 and 1915, and Cuba throughout the period—and this is only a partial list.

This incongruity may perhaps be attributed to two factors. First, Munro is striking at historians who, he apparently believes, view business influence on policy formulation as an indication of a conspiracy. I personally know of no reputable historian who has emphasized the economic aspects who views business influence this way; those with whom I am familiar see it as an integral and natural part of foreign policy, as does Munro in many parts of this book. His doubt, therefore, that the hope for more American trade and investment “had any great influence in the formulation of policy” is, in this sense, irrelevant. Policy makers used economic pressure as the primary weapon to quiet revolution and to remove foreign powers. Second, the rich unpublished personal manuscript sources of this era have been almost completely ignored.

All too often, Munro concludes, political and economic involvement inevitably led to the use of military force. This conclusion is as relevant today as it is true: coercive intervention was not merely a failure, but dangerously exacerbated the complex problems in the Caribbean area. Read in this context and in the light of the facts, not the conclusions, presented on the business interests, this is an important work.

Cornell University

WALTER LAFEBER

AN AMERICAN EPIC. Volume IV, THE GUNS CEASE KILLING AND THE SAVING OF LIFE FROM FAMINE BEGINS, 1939-1963. By *Herbert Hoover*. [The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.] (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1964. Pp. xv, 322. \$7.50.)

HERBERT Hoover viewed his role in directing the overseas distribution of American food to the hungry as the proudest achievement of a long and active life. He has devoted four volumes, *An American Epic*, to the telling of this story.

The fourth and final volume begins with Polish appeals for food relief following the 1939 military action that opened World War II and carries the story of Hoover's food relief activities and interests during and after World War II through 1963. Previous volumes described the author's direction of US food distribution in Belgium and northern France during four and a half years of German occupation, 1914-1918; American relief activities in other European nations after US entry into the First World War; and a nation-by-nation survey of US food efforts from 1917 until 1923, including relief activities in the Soviet Union, 1921-1923.

These volumes provide a convenient collection of many of the documents and personal observations by Hoover, which fill in a sizable portion of America's overseas food "epic" since 1914. The author can be justifiably proud of his role in this magnificent venture, and he was supported in that role by a number of highly able men to whom he gives deserved recognition.

It should not be assumed, however, that any of the volumes, and especially the final one, represents a full account of American overseas food programs. Indeed, while purporting to cover the years 1939-1963, the final volume omits any reference at all to the largest and most significant US food program abroad for this period—the shipment of over eleven billion dollars at market value of wheat, corn, rice, dairy products, and edible oils under Public Law 480. This imaginative law, enacted in 1954 and expanded steadily since then, provides the legislative authority for the Food for Peace Program developed by President Eisenhower and given new force by President Kennedy. Under this quietly effective program an average of three large ships a day have left American ports for the past decade carrying food to India, Pakistan, Brazil, Korea, and scores of other countries to be granted outright to the needy or exchanged for foreign currencies devoted to approved uses in the receiving countries.

By any criteria including the prevention of hunger and the encouragement of rehabilitation, the Public Law 480 Food for Peace Program has been at least as large and significant as the American food efforts that Hoover relates in his earlier volumes on the World War I period, or the current volume on the World War II period. Yet the names of Eisenhower and Kennedy and the terms "Public Law 480" and "Food for Peace" appear nowhere in this volume.

Hoover's sharp differences with President Roosevelt over the handling of food relief requests from beleaguered friendly countries from 1939 to 1943,

which he entitles "Four Years of Frustration," is not an entirely unbiased account. For example, after referring to a letter from Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen published in the London *Times* attacking Hoover's war relief activities as a threat to Allied victory, the author mentions an answer to the Van Dusen letter by a loyal Hoover associate, Hugh Gibson. "I reproduce his letter here as an indication of the stuff Van Dusen's committee engaged in," writes Hoover. But when one reads the letter expecting it to be Van Dusen's "stuff," it turns out to be Gibson's entire answer, and the Van Dusen piece is not printed at all.

This volume has value chiefly as a personal memoir of those activities which the author thought to be his most significant efforts since 1939.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE MCGOVERN

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume II, EUROPE. [Department of State Publication 7679.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1964. Pp. vii, 1069. \$3.75.)

"WHY doesn't De Gaulle go to war?" Franklin Roosevelt ironically asked in his 1943 New Year's greeting to Winston Churchill. "Why doesn't he start North by West half West from Brazenville [*sic*]?" It would take him a long time to get to the Oasis of Somewhere." Four months later, Roosevelt complained (again to Churchill): "I do not know what to do with De Gaulle. Possibly you would like to make him Governor of Madagascar!" As 1943 drew to a close, the exasperated President told Admiral Leahy that in his opinion "the time had come to eliminate De Gaulle," and informed Churchill that he had had enough of "the Jeanne d'Arc complex."

It is no wonder that this volume of *Foreign Relations* has been avidly read and heatedly reviewed in De Gaulle's France of 1964. Its publication at a time of renewed tension in Franco-American relations offers heartening evidence that the Department of State is not afraid to spread out the record, no matter how painful it may be. Certainly the Gaullists will find plenty of ammunition here to support their contention that the Americans have never really understood De Gaulle, and that Roosevelt's wartime attitude toward France was not completely disinterested. Thus Dakar, in Roosevelt's mind, was destined to be transferred from France to the United States, acting on behalf of the United Nations. As for mainland France, it would have to be placed under "a military occupation run by British and American generals" for six months or a year after the liberation.

Much of the story of this tense year has, of course, already been told in the memoirs of various participants, and in Arthur Funk's excellent monograph *Charles De Gaulle: The Crucial Years*. But the documentary record reinforces certain tentative judgments and fills in many gaps. It provides, for example, a fascinating day-to-day account of De Gaulle's successful maneuvers in Algiers,

as he infiltrated the defenses of poor old Giraud and then gradually shouldered him into limbo. Jean Monnet, then regarded as a Giraud man, appears to have been the key figure in this De Gaulle triumph. There are, incidentally, some curious discrepancies between Robert Murphy's reports from Algiers on this subject and the account given in Murphy's recent memoirs, *Diplomat among Warriors*.

Roosevelt's smoldering irritation and Cordell Hull's obsessive dislike of De Gaulle (based in part on shaky assumptions about the general's motives and on suspicion of British intrigues) seem quite unreasonable as one reads the record now in retrospect. On the whole, the British come off better, though they were caught uncomfortably in the middle. Strangely enough, perhaps the best way to recover some sympathy for Washington's attitude is to reread the wartime memoirs of De Gaulle himself. There, embalmed in classic prose, one finds that stubborn self-righteousness, that suspicion of "Anglo-Saxon" motives, that cantankerous unwillingness to try to understand anyone else's point of view, which were admirably designed to enrage the leaders of a great power carrying the brunt of a world-wide conflict. A realization of what the American leaders were up against may not justify their mistakes of judgment about De Gaulle, but it makes those errors comprehensible.

The French problem is only one of many subjects included in this richly laden volume. Other sections trace American relations with various Allied governments-in-exile, with the new Badoglio regime in Italy, and with the European neutrals. There is much valuable material on the techniques of economic warfare by which the Western Powers sought to restrict neutral trade with the Axis. In Spain an extra complication was introduced by chronic differences between Ambassador Hayes and the Department of State. Hayes was convinced that Spain, if properly treated, was "a potential military ally," and scolded Washington for its alleged susceptibility to "badly misinformed public opinion." The reports of our representative to the Vatican are also of peculiar interest, in the light of recent controversies over the Pope's wartime role. The Vatican's central concern in 1943 was to avert an Allied bombing of Rome, against which prospect the Pope threatened to stir up world-wide Catholic opinion. The Americans occasionally reminded Vatican officials that their case would have been stronger if they had spoken out more clearly against earlier Axis bombing of civilians and against Nazi atrocities.

This admirably edited volume is one of the most useful yet to appear in the series on American wartime diplomacy.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

KOREA: THE LIMITED WAR. By *David Rees*. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. xvi, 511. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH many Americans tried to ignore it while it was being fought and

sought to forget it after it ended, the Korean struggle has been the subject of many books from S. L. A. Marshall's stirring volumes on small-unit actions to T. R. Fehrenbach's passionate appeal for military preparedness and professionalism and Robert Leckie's compact account of military operations. The student who wishes to examine the various aspects of the war can find an ever-expanding list of specialized studies, which includes the memoirs of President Truman and of Generals Dean, Ridgway, and Clark, defenses of the MacArthur position by Whitney and Willoughby, the soldier's viewpoint by Martin Russ, official and semiofficial accounts by Roy Appleman, Russell Gugeler, John Westover, Cagle and Manson, and expositions of the political controversies of the period by John Spanier and Trumbull Higgins. The best general volume combining the diplomatic, political, and military background of the war is that of David Rees who writes with detachment and sound sense about the violent controversies that have obscured and threatened to taint the sacrifices of brave men.

The author sketches the essential elements of the military operations, illustrating the actions with twenty maps. Thirty photographs (not in the class of those in Fehrenbach's book or in several excellent photographic volumes) and appendixes noting the contributions to the United Nations' command by members of the United Nations, a list of senior commanders of the war, a selected casualty list, and the text of the military armistice agreement add to the value of the book.

A free-lance writer, who contributes regularly to several British publications, Rees combines the ability to write well with a willingness to delve into tedious volumes of hearings and investigations. Viewing the American political scene from abroad, he brings a fresh touch to many of his judgments. The treatment of such topics as brainwashing, Chinese Communist propaganda, and the role of strategic bombing in the war gains from this perspective. He is less concerned than many Americans were about the problem of "softness" among United States troops in Korea (a point on which he agrees with Sam Marshall), and his scathing handling of Europeans who spread the Communist line about alleged American use of germ warfare in Korea gains force because he writes as an "outsider."

Rees's basic sympathies are with the Truman administration, but he does not insist that it was always wise in its decisions. He believes that Truman was right in barring bombing attacks beyond the Yalu, but suggests that Washington—in the face of tremendous political pressure to get the war stopped—erred later in "attempting to trade a temporary cease-fire for a quick armistice."

Noting that all the commanders in Korea except Ridgway and Taylor believed that the United States suffered a disaster by not forcing the issue with Peking after Communist intervention on the side of the North Koreans, Rees declines to predict that the doctrine of limited war as applied at this point will be upheld by future historians. Nevertheless, he holds that by waging a limited war, the Truman administration kept the United Nations' coalition intact, repelled the Communist aggression in Korea, and strengthened Western defenses—the major

Western political achievement since 1945. He concludes that Dean Acheson in the MacArthur hearings uttered the "vastly expensive twelve-word lesson of Korea" when he said that "time is on our side if we make good use of it."

Arlington, Virginia

FORREST C. POGUE

WHAT'S PAST IS PROLOGUE: THE MEMOIRS OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VINCENT MASSEY, C. H. (New York: St Martin's Press. 1964. Pp. 540. \$7.50.)

VINCENT Massey is one of Canada's most distinguished statesmen. He has held distinguished posts and discharged his duties within these posts in a distinguished manner. Now he has written a distinguished autobiography. The choice of repetition here is, of course, deliberate, but in this case repetition is not, Fowler to the contrary, overuse. Born of a well-to-do industrial family, Massey became president of the Massey-Harris agricultural implement company before entering a life of public service. Defeated in 1925 as a Liberal candidate in Durham County, Massey was appointed in the following year Canada's first minister to the United States, and he did much to foster an independent but pro-British office. During this time he learned to admire the United States while seeing that "being Canadian" set him apart from British and American alike. Thereafter an introspective preoccupation with the meaning of Canadianism, with identifying the "Canadian type," was to issue in his thoughtful series of essays, *On Being Canadian* (1948), and colors much of this autobiography. Massey then served as Canadian High Commissioner to London, 1935-1946, and in 1952 he became the first Canadian-born Governor-General of the Dominion, serving until 1959. It was Massey who "made the Crown Canadian."

The events of these fruitful years are unfolded in this autobiography with humor and a graceful, unhurried prose. On occasion the material is reduced to the anecdotal or reflects something of the quality of merely exceptional after-dinner speeches, and the portion on the governor-generalship has the static quality of a long sunset glow. The life described here has been an extraordinarily useful one—a word Massey would himself employ—as well as an attractive one. Quoting Gladstone with approval, Massey remarks that he hated luxury, but loved splendor, and the reader learns of London tailors, state carriages, and the good food of a world not gone but going. He learns too, however, of wartime London, Washington under a stifling "normalcy," and William Lyon Mackenzie King's mercurial nature. Impartial and soft-spoken as this autobiography is, Massey's annoyance with Coolidge, his clashes with R. B. Bennett, his strains with King ("as complicated a being as Canadian public life has ever produced"), the ill temper of O. D. Skelton, and his unenamored response to Wendell Willkie ("a man with a quite restricted knowledge which did not prevent his making categorical statements on most subjects") are apparent.

But Massey describes rather than examines his life in this handsome book. Roy

Pascal, in *Design and Truth in Autobiography*, has suggested that the finest autobiographies are explorations through which the author arrives at new insights. The act of writing such a book changes the man who writes it if he re-examines all that he has done; he is "by himself surprised." This one ultimate joy of autobiography is lacking here. There is no sustained spirit of self-inquiry at the end, although there is an abundance of evidence that the author conducted such inquiries at the times when they mattered most in the practical sense—at the time of decisions. What one misses is the sense of decisions re-examined.

Yale University

ROBIN W. WINKS

ARGENTINA AND THE UNITED STATES, 1810-1960. By *Harold F. Peterson*. ([n. p.:] State University of New York; distrib. by University Publishers, New York. 1964. Pp. xxii, 627. \$10.00.)

MUCH has been written on the subject of United States-Argentine relations, a fact well attested to by the numerous monographs and articles cited in Professor Peterson's comprehensive bibliography. He has thought it worth while, however, to provide a new synthesis based on these previous studies and his own careful examination of the sources. The early portion of the book is supported by a thorough study of archival material both in South America and the United States; for more recent years the author was not able to use manuscript sources in Argentina, but his investigation in the National Archives reaches the World War II period; for the past two decades materials are inevitably much more sketchy.

Though a tradition exists in American diplomatic history for writing books that survey relations with a single foreign country, the validity of this approach is questionable. Anyone who reads the early part of this book will note difficulty in maintaining a thread of unity in what frequently tends to become a series of only slightly related episodes. For example, how can one relate such topics as United States involvement in the Anglo-Argentine dispute over the Falkland Islands, the unwillingness of the United States to concern itself over Anglo-French intervention in the Río de la Plata, and the Argentine role in the disputes of the United States and Paraguay. Beginning with the initiation of the Pan-American movement in 1889 there is a clear thread to follow in United States-Argentine relations. Rival positions on inter-American policy and organization were reinforced by commercial disputes arising from the impact of United States tariff policies on Argentina. These endemic difficulties were multiplied during World War I and more intensely multiplied during World War II by Argentine resistance to American pressures.

The only previously published work on this subject is Arthur P. Whitaker's *The United States and Argentina* (1954), a brief study that provided a succinct account of Argentine history along with the story of United States relations with that country. Peterson's book is a more extensive effort devoted largely to a chronicle of diplomatic and commercial relations. Except for a few sections in the

concluding part of the volume, material on Argentine domestic developments is rather summary and general in character. The framework that the author adopted for the presentation of his story is a dialectical one. Peterson sees the two countries as related by a set of similarities of experience and contrasts in tradition and interests. The story of their relations is thus given a kind of dramatic quality: a long struggle for continental leadership. For the twentieth century this may be partially justified, but the conflict was far more important to Argentina than to the United States. For the years before 1890 this bipolar approach seems less useful.

Peterson writes from a Pan-Americanist point of view, without patriotic prejudice and with sympathy for the people of Argentina and respect for many of their public men. He is liberal, but quietly so; in making judgments he is moderate and restrained. There is a tendency toward occasional wordiness and repetition, and the book might have been more effective if it had been reduced in length, particularly in the early portions, but there can be no doubt that this book will be most useful, though it adds little to what has been known to scholars, for students and teachers of United States diplomatic history and inter-American relations.

Vassar College

CHARLES C. GRIFFIN

JAHRBUCH FÜR GESCHICHTE VON STAAT, WIRTSCHAFT UND
GESELLSCHAFT LATEINAMERIKAS. Volume I. Edited by *Richard
Konetzke* and *Hermann Kellenbenz*. (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1964.
Pp. 371. DM 38.)

GERMAN historical writing suffered a serious decline during the years of Nazi rule. Now, however, through the efforts of certain devoted and persevering scholars, it is being returned to its former reputable and honored standing. The present *Jahrbuch*, edited by Konetzke and Kellenbenz, and dedicated to the political, social, and economic history of Latin America, is an excellent example of the sincerity of those who are giving themselves to this task.

Non-European history has never been the forte of German historiography, and the history of the Americas has been a noticeably neglected field. There existed, it is true, the *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv*, but it vanished in 1944; books and articles on Latin America were an exception rather than a rule. Most of the research and publication in this area went under the name of "Überseegeschichte," the very title indicating that the ideas evolved from a European-centered point of view, a view from the outside in. The reason for this lack of interest very likely stemmed from the fact that Germany never acquired colonies in the Western Hemisphere. Its only links to the New World were, therefore, the German minorities in the United States, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, who maintained tenuous connections with the mother country.

The editors of the present volume are not concerned with nationalistic feelings.

They point out that the global expansion of historical knowledge is an indispensable condition for the understanding of the global interdependence of our present world. The purpose of the *Jahrbuch* is, therefore, to report on the progress of historical research in the fields of Hispano-American and Luso-American history, and to encourage German historians to take a more active interest in these disciplines. Americans will welcome this endeavor since the teaching of American history, both Anglo-Saxon and Ibero-American, is still sadly neglected in Germany.

The editors are well qualified for the organization of this assignment. Konetzke has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Spanish history and has recently given us a magnificent collection of documents on the social and political history of Hispanic America. Kellenbenz is well known for his studies of the economic history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The yearbook also includes contributions from non-German historians. An article by Pierre Chaunu, "Pour une Géopolitique de l'Espace Américain," will stimulate both the historian and the sociologist, and Magnus Mörner has written a most interesting account of the problems of the encomienda system. Kellenbenz is represented by a comprehensive report on the economic and social history of northeastern Brazil that incorporates the results of thirty years of research on early Brazilian history. Konetzke gives us two articles, one devoted to the linguistic problems of the Hispanic colonization, an issue much more alive than a cursory glance at the Latin American world might suggest; the other an essay-review on Alexander von Humboldt and Latin America. Also significant is Günther Kahle's analysis of the dictatorship of Dr. Francia and its significance for the development of a national consciousness in Paraguay.

Two other offerings deserve the attention of the social historian: the diary of the Marquis de Casteldosrius, viceroy of Peru during the years of the War of the Spanish Succession, and an essay by one of Germany's most distinguished medieval historians, Percy Ernst Schramm, dealing with the German colony of Dona Francisca in Brazil, based largely on material from Schramm's family archives.

Although the coverage is not complete, much interesting material has been assembled in this volume. The editors and contributors must be commended for their efforts in this praiseworthy enterprise.

Sweet Briar College

GERHARD MASUR

THE MILITARY AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA. By *John J. Johnson*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 308. \$7.00.)

GENERALIZING about the generals is one of the by-products of current historical and sociological writing about Latin America. A new image of the military has been created, in which the general is no longer the dress parade figure (fat or trim). An army leader is increasingly a kind of social engineer, trained and

traveled. The military, in modern history and social change, have picked up the role of the elites, and are changing themselves. Militarism today is different from the historic Caesarism and praetorianism of the past. To fit the picture and to satisfy the need for words to fix an image, a term has been coined: civic action. Civic action, hinting of virtue and purpose, is the step that closes the ranks between the military and society.

Compared with the Latin American university, the Church, the government, and even the people, the military now are presented as a progressive rather than a reactionary element. Modernization, technology, and reflective patriotism are the chief reasons given for the picture that distinguishes the present officer group from their nineteenth-century predecessors. For the most part, the army, the author means to say, is really an enlarged engineers' corps, committed to social service rather than war. The army can make the illiterate educated; it can build roads; it can handle the national self-interest and advance the country while preserving the past.

The professional soldier, not the professional politician, is therefore the "hero" of this interpretation. The recent interest in the role of guerrilla-militia in a peasant society is not echoed in this book. The career military of the regular army, the army that is under the War Ministry, becomes the main force under discussion.

The rather peaceable mission assigned to this kind of army in contemporary Latin American society is sharply contrasted with the picture of violence and destruction attributed to Latin American colonial times. In fact, the author handles colonial times no differently than those in which four hundred years of *leyenda negra* have already handled colonial Latin America. Without any description or narrative about law, culture, organized society, and other stabilizing (civilizing) elements, the device of evolution is used to show progress from a lower form (under Spain) to a higher form (under nationalism). Yet, "despite the brutality and savagery of Spanish culture in the New World," and the "intrepid brigands from Spain," that colonial society is only now said to be stirring toward its end. In exchange for this surprising resurrection of a black legend about a "savage" society in colonial history, we are asked to believe that the military will do a better job than the civilian in handling the conflicting socio-economic pressures of contemporary times.

The writing is quite good; the bibliography is very good. Oral interviews supplement the general judgments about modern soldiery. There is an interesting innovation, partly in the realm of the history of ideas, dealing with the impact and image of the military man upon the novelist, poet, and intellectual of Latin America, as seen in their writings and expressions. It is interesting that the bibliography, however, shows no Latin American interest in this definition or treatment of militarism (except for one or two Argentine studies). The notion of the professional soldier and political benefit is almost wholly North European and North American. Latin American writers prefer to stress the sociopolitical factor

in their national interest, national character, and national culture. They tend to remain civilian and constitutional.

The practice of evaluating the past in one way in order to contrast it with the present is a very risky one. When, in addition, the idea is advanced that Latin American armies are "bad," but that the Brazilian Army is "good"; that Brazil has little or no violence or force in its history; that in Brazil the army is a "moderate" factor—it is enough to answer that both today's events and yesterday's history show otherwise. In fact, as the military of Brazil resemble their mates in Latin America and Spain, and become less and less like the Portuguese "decision-makers," the ideas in the book will no longer be new. As it is, the book moves smoothly along a road that is no longer new. The question is: is a road of "civic action" and military enlightenment a single, high-speed freeway going somewhere? Or is it, after all, part of a national system, one branch or feeder that can only go to a dead end unless it is tied to the larger national history, culture, experience, and basic forces among the people.

It is time also to point out that "the armed forces' generally nonviolent response" may be due to military behavior or standards, but this does not close the door to the further fact that nonviolence, today at least, is a two-way street. A situation is made nonviolent, in current Brazil, for example, not because of the army, but because the president, congress, and unions do not fight back. The civilian element, not wanting bloodshed, preferring patriotism, does not use any of the vaunted and highly publicized "left" to cause trouble. The violence of the military continues, but instead of having to go to the test on a battlefield, the military uses civil violence by the power to arrest and close down. The professional soldier in Brazil and Latin America cannot work with the professional politician; that we know. But what might also have been shown in the book, since events show it, is that the professional soldier in Latin America will also not work with the university professors.

The new military, therefore, having been part of the underdeveloped patterns in Africa and the Near East, have come under scrutiny in Latin America. The description in the book is well supported by evidence, mostly present-day. The historical section is very personal and subjective; the contemporary material has better balance. It is in "retrospect and prospect" that a jump is taken from the rather one-sided account of the colonial era to a bold venture into the era of prediction and future.

Brooklyn College

HARRY BERNSTEIN

★ ★ ★ *Other Recent Publications* ★ ★ ★

BOOKS

General

THE MEANING OF HISTORY. By *Erich Kahler*. (New York: George Braziller. 1964. Pp. viii, 15-224. \$5.00.) Boldness, clarity, and originality are needed to tackle this well-worn subject. These Kahler has. It is his theme that history necessarily has meaning, for any awareness of coherence, order, or storylike quality logically presupposes, and existentially creates, some meaning. The counterpoint to this theme is not that meaning is, therefore, the creation of the comprehending mind; rather meaning arises from the interaction of conscious comprehension and material reality. (He labels this concept-and-event origin of meaning "intercreation," one of the many needless neologisms that disfigure an otherwise lively style.) The book is devoted to the history of the interaction between what happened and what was thought. The Greeks, the Jews, the medieval Church, and the nineteenth-century historicists are all shown grappling with various questions of identity, development, time, and progress. It is the extraordinary merit of this thumbnail history of Western introspection that it is concretely, lucidly, and compellingly told. The book is thus believable, neither a vehicle for idiosyncratic metaphysics nor a repeat performance of the labors of Bury, Cohen, Löwith, and D'Arcy. This is not to say that the speculations of ancient, medieval, and modern thinkers as here purveyed will strike the reader as entirely new. But, familiar or not, Kahler's attempt to trace a definite order and consecution of levels in mankind's search for its historical identity remains arresting. His subject matter is too rich and closely knit to permit isolation of specific points for the purposes of a short review. Suffice it to say that his history of the quest for meaning adds up to the notion that there is such a thing as a secular, historical meaning to our doings, and that, on the evidence presented, this meaning is capable of elucidation. I would caution the reader that Kahler has shown this elucidation to be possible only formally. What it is substantively is another question. The author's concluding discourse on current alternatives—extinction or world government—does nothing to answer it.

Warburg Institute, London

GEORGE H. NADEL

PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY. By *William H. Dray*. [Foundations of Philosophy Series.] (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall. 1964. Pp. ix, 116. \$1.50.) Professor Dray has divided his study between the "critical" and the "speculative" aspects of the over-all problem. Having put himself on record as believing that it would be "profoundly misleading to call history, without qualification, a science," he analyzes the problem of historical understanding (which he equates with historical explanation, although not all historians might accept such a limitation), considering the various claims of Positivists and relativists. The discussion is concise and as straightforward as the complexity of the matter permits; it is as inconclusive as it must be. The analysis of the problem of historical objectivity is discerning and fair, without being indulgent, to both Positivists and relativists. The consideration of causal judgment leads to the conclusion that historians are unlikely ever to know "objectively" what caused this or that because their conclusions are "logically dependent" upon their value judg-

ments. The second half of this small but distinguished book offers three acute diagnoses of speculative philosophies of history, those of Hegel, Toynbee, and Reinhold Niebuhr. In each case, the presentation is clear and adequate, and in each case the conclusion arrived at is that the systematizer falls short of offering a logically satisfactory interpretation. With that, the book breaks off somewhat abruptly, terminating in a brief bibliographical suggestion. In all, then, the treatment is compact, spare in proportion, and substantial in content, making an excellent general introduction to the subject. As so often occurs with probings of historical writing by philosophers as searching as Dray, the reader is inclined to be left struggling amidst admiration for the quality of analysis displayed, doubts concerning the historical material chosen to be reviewed (Is it captious here again to judge the references rather slight? Or is it rather that almost anything will do, and to take, say, the writing on the American Civil War as the principal material for discussion of causal judgment is not really to load the conclusion toward a finding of moral bias?), and a certain sense of futility about the activity of historians. Philosophers of course may contemplate such conclusions with equanimity if not satisfaction. Historians as being really the objects under scrutiny may feel less intellectually detached. For the information presented by this kind of relentless inquiry is uncompromising—one almost is trapped into saying “cruel”—and it may be wondered whether even such notable ventures as *History and Theory* can greatly help to bring together those who write history and those who so rigorously spell out the frailties of it.

University of Toronto

JOHN C. CAIRNS

HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CHRISTIAN HUMANISM. By *William Foxwell Albright*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. ix, 342. \$6.95.) This is the first of a projected series of three volumes that will bring together the most important *opera minora* of W. F. Albright, dean of American Orientalists. While of the fifteen papers published in the first volume only the first three have not hitherto appeared elsewhere, the rest of the papers have been enlarged, revised, and updated to such an extent that nearly half the content of the volume is new. In many respects the new book amplifies and supplements the author's views as expressed first in his *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (1940). The book is divided into four parts, the first of which deals with general areas of epistemology as applied to the study of the ancient Near East; the second includes surveys of certain Near Eastern areas; and the third and fourth deal with scholarly personalities (James H. Breasted, Gerhard Kittel, Arnold Toynbee, Eric Voegelin, Rudolf Bultmann, and the author himself). The first paper, “Toward a Theistic Humanism,” strikes the keynote for the whole volume. In contrast to the secular classical humanism originated during the Renaissance and the atheistic humanism of the nineteenth century, the theistic humanism of recent years is defined by Albright as “the study and cultivation of our higher cultural heritage in the light of Judeo-Christian religious tradition.” Actually, the theistic humanism is more than is implied in the above definition because many could subscribe to it, with tacit acquiescence to the attribute “higher,” without being “theistically” oriented. “As a theist I gladly accept the role of divine Providence,” writes Albright, and, disregarding the theologians, he is truly the foremost spokesman of the theistic humanism of our time. Centered as it is in the ancient Near Eastern area, and the Bible specifically, the book is sprinkled with pro-Western judgments that may seem natural to Western readers, but not necessarily to others. The author, who began reading in Assyriology at the age of ten, has continued throughout his scholarly career to contribute ideas that have a touch of genius. In this book note for instance his correct evaluation of the ultimate decipherment of the Aegean Linear B writing, expressed in 1939, or his ideas about the correlation between the Athenian and American democracy and slavery, a

view that parallels M. I. Finley's ideas about freedom and slavery, expressed in *Slavery in Classical Antiquity* (1960). The book is rich in constructive ideas and offers fascinating reading to both layman and scholar, even to those who are well acquainted with Albright's past scholarly views and production. Typographically, it is very pleasing and is almost completely free of printing errors; we look forward to the appearance of the next two volumes in the series.

University of Chicago

I. J. GELB

HUMAN BEHAVIOR: AN INVENTORY OF SCIENTIFIC FINDINGS. By *Bernard Berelson* and *Gary A. Steiner*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 712. \$8.95.) This book aims to digest in propositional form current work in the behavioral sciences. It was a noble idea, and one must be grateful to its authors for carrying through such a difficult task. For the historian who needs to become acquainted with this literature (rich bibliographical help is provided) it raises the hope of finding new insights with which to interpret his own materials, especially those concerning the ultimate question: what is the nature of man? But it is likely that he will be disappointed. The book, however, does raise important questions for the historian. Though the large question of where history belongs in the shifting schemata of learning is an old one, it is now altered. We now ask whether history belongs in the group of the behavioral sciences or the humanities. This book's answer seems to be that it does not belong to the former. However much the historian may think he is concerned with human behavior, he will find himself, by and large, excluded from the materials summarized in this book. There is indeed much in this volume that will help him, much to temper whatever romantic zeal he may have left, much raw material to fit into the conservative creed. Perhaps he will have to resort, as Dr. Langer has suggested, to Freud and his successors for help with the larger vision this book denies him. Is it then conceivable that the historian will have to concern himself with that large question of the nature of man, which "turns out to be no one's in particular"? However his ancient discipline may be classified, is it possible that, under present circumstances, it is he who must resolve the great dichotomy of C. P. Snow between not only the scientific and the nonscientific but this lesser one between history and the new behavioral science? Must he, if it is ever to be done, set himself the arduous task of the integrator?

Brandeis University

EDGAR N. JOHNSON

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN NURSING. By *Bonnie Bullough* and *Vern L. Bullough*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. vi, 243. \$4.50.) To write a history of nursing is no easy task. How, for example, is nursing to be separated from developments in medicine, welfare, and public health? Where are the research materials, especially the primary and monographic studies, on which to base such a work? And how can a book stressing professional developments and the growth of the "nursing team" avoid being of limited interest to the general historian? The authors (one a graduate nurse, the other a historian) do not solve these problems, though they make a start. Relying primarily on broad historical studies, as well as commission and study reports, they sketch the evolution of nursing from its primitive and ancient origins through the emergence of medieval healing orders to the modern period. The ancient peoples, especially the Egyptians, were conscious of the need for some kind of nursing care, but did not think of nursing as a specialized calling. The Greeks began to recognize the need for trained nurses, while the Romans surpassed them eventually in the care and nursing of the sick. The Christian concept of charity in the medieval period did much to inspire the growth of hospitals, which were intended primarily for the sick and homeless poor. The book stresses the rapid development of nursing in

the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially such phases as the work of Florence Nightingale, the growth of training programs for nurses, the emergence of nursing organizations, and the spread of Western conceptions of nursing throughout the world. The effect of burgeoning population, scientific advance, the Great Depression, health insurance, and two world wars on the nursing profession are all considered. In summary, this is a fact-studded account that attempts but does not quite succeed in integrating broad historical developments with the growth of nursing. It is nonetheless welcome as a pioneering venture. The book concludes with a fine bibliographical essay.

University of Cincinnati

THOMAS N. BONNER

MENSEN EN ACHTERGRONDEN: STUDIES UITGEGEVEN TER GELEGENHEID VAN DE TACHTIGSTE JAARDAG VAN DE SCHRIJVER. By *J. G. van Dillen*. [Historische Studies, Number 19.] (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1964. Pp. 571.) With this volume a well-deserved honor is bestowed upon Professor van Dillen. An authority on the economic and social history of Amsterdam, particularly the Amsterdam Exchange Bank, he also wrote with equal scholarly effectiveness on related subjects. Moreover, during his long editorship of the *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis en Land- en Volkenkunde*, he introduced new vigor and scope by adding articles and reviews extending beyond the national to wider areas of historical interest. A committee, with Van Dillen's approval, made a few selections from the long list covering more than a half century of scholarly productivity. To these the author added some reflections, lectures, and unpublished manuscript material. Much of his research was published by a variety of professional organizations. Now these are drawn together and placed in logical sequence. To this end, the volume is divided into three parts: "General Subjects," "The Russian Revolution," and "The Economic and Social History of Amsterdam." The first section with its variety of topics reflects the author's wide interests. With erudite skill he draws together economic historical writings to produce pointed studies explaining modern imperialism, the Dutch economic supremacy, a comparison with England, mercantilist concepts as well as the place of social-economic history in relation to allied fields. Other articles deal with medieval guild organization, the price revolution, and a potential famine year. In Part Two, five articles on the Russian Revolution trace the changes in the economic system of the Soviet Union through 1946. The central theme is Lenin's attempts to establish Marxian Communism through the gradual changes in ideology and practice that produced bureaucratic state socialism. The last of the series compares the similarity in stages of the French and Russian Revolutions that produced a retreat from the original ideology. The final part is primarily concerned with the city of Amsterdam. Economic historians will, no doubt, be most pleased to find that Van Dillen's two authoritative and well-known articles on the Amsterdam Exchange Bank, 1609-1781, are completed with the inclusion of an unpublished manuscript covering the decline, 1782-1821. A portion of the selection on the social and economic development of Amsterdam, 1848-1948, rounds out the banking aspects. The remaining three topics clearly portray futures in commodity markets, a religious dispute, and a demographic study of Amsterdam. The volume concludes with an excellent bibliography of the author's publications.

University of Alabama

FRANK E. DYKEMA

THE FORTUNATE PILGRIMS: AMERICANS IN ITALY, 1800-1860. By *Paul R. Baker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 264. \$5.95.) Paul Baker asks what sorts of Americans visited Italy in the earlier nineteenth century, why they visited there, what values they took with them, and what they came away with (when they decided not to stay). He finds that the travelers were usually fairly well-off

(Margaret Fuller and some of the artists were exceptions) and that they went to be edified, to be instructed, to carry back lessons for their country, to learn and practice an art, or sometimes merely to indicate that they "belonged." They took along their Protestant individualism, their beliefs in "progress" and the democratic process, and their religio-moralistic acceptance of the doctrine of work. They were, therefore, almost always antipathetic to Catholicism, aristocracy of birth, apparent identification of church and state, and the widespread poverty, filth, and lack of ambition that in their opinion followed from these things. At the same time, they sometimes acquired a sense of history, an appreciation of natural and man-made beauty, and an awareness that much could be said for the Italian "joy of life." In short, though they were proudly cognizant of New World promise, they also regretted the absence or passing of some Old World values. As the title implies, this volume is extensive rather than intensive. Baker has lucidly organized bales of published and unpublished letters, journals, travel books, biographies, and autobiographies under a few general chapter headings that seemed likely to elicit answers to his questions. Each chapter is a broad topic surveyed and summarized, the most fruitful being "The Italian People," "The World of Art," "Religion in Italian Life," and "The Meaning of Italy." The "Epilogue," called "The Travelers' Baggage," is in my opinion misplaced; it is really a prologue and should be read first, since it admirably presents the American values that help to explain many reactions discussed earlier. Baker's book is scrupulously documented, although, as he implies, the danger of introducing invalid generalizations is increased by virtue of his reducing mounds of testimony to the imagined impressions of a single "American traveler." Also, I think that the specialist reader might have profited from a standard bibliography more than from the brief section "For Further Reading." Otherwise, while the book is in none of its particular chapters as specific as, say, Albert Gardner's *Yankee Stonecutters*, it is more detailed and developed than such a work as Van Wyck Brooks's *The Dream of Arcadia*. Baker's achievement is panoramically useful.

University of Oregon

JOSEPH A. HYNES

RUSSIAN INTERESTS IN PALESTINE, 1882-1914: A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL ENTERPRISE. By *Theofanis George Stavrou*. [Publication Number 68.] (Thessalonike: Institute for Balkan Studies. 1963. Pp. 249.) No place on earth has witnessed more strife in the name of religion than Palestine. In the land of the crusades, Jews, Moslems, and Christians have fought each other, Christians (Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant) have fought among themselves, and within the Christian divisions Franciscans have contended against ultramontanists, Prussian Protestants against English, Orthodox Arabs against Greeks, Greeks against Russians. Motivated by much the same pilgrim piety, crusading impulses, messianic visions, and worldly interests as their Western counterparts, through the centuries after their conversion the Russians sailed on pilgrimages, endeavored to champion the Christian cause in the Ottoman domains, and embroiled themselves in conflicts. Halted by the Crimean War, Russian involvement mounted again until in 1882 an influential Orthodox Palestine Society was formed to promote pilgrimages, aid Orthodoxy in the Holy Land through schools and charities, and publish scholarly and popular works on Palestine. Coming under direct imperial patronage in 1889, the society had accomplished much by 1914: some fifteen thousand Russian pilgrims—by far the largest national group—were visiting the Holy Places each year, about one hundred Russian schools operated in Palestine and Syria, its scholarly publications had won acclaim in the West, and "the Russian invasion" had made Palestine appear as a prospective possession of Nicholas II. By educating the Orthodox Arabs and awakening their nationalism, the Russians had also dealt "the last blow to the receding Greek cultural influence in the Orthodox East." However, if Russian policies, which the Greeks saw as inimical Pan-Slavism

exploiting Orthodoxy, dealt body blows to Panhellenism in the Balkans and the Near East, the Russian work was in turn shattered by World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution. The efforts of the Soviet regime after 1945 to pick up the pieces of Russian piety and tsarist accomplishments (including resurrection of the Palestine Society and its series, *Palestinskii Sbornik*) and to involve the Russian Church in various moves in the Near East have not, so far, borne great results. It is the important and neglected story of Russia's arrival and activities in the arena of religious rivalries before 1914 that Stavrou has undertaken to tell in his dissertation. On the whole, he has told it competently and objectively. Of particular merit is the utilization of widely scattered materials in the relevant languages, although for some reason Turkish sources have remained unused. From this study, marked by considerable depth of detail, the reader will obtain little knowledge of what the Turks felt, said, and did about these important activities within their empire.

San Fernando Valley State College

MARIN PUNDEFF

BURZHUAZNAIA ISTORIOGRAFIIA PEROVOI MIROVOI VOINY: PROISKHOZH-DENIE VOINY I MEZHDUNARODNYE OTNOSHENIIA 1914-1917 GG. [Bourgeois Historiography of the First World War: Origins of the War and International Relations 1914-1917]. By K. B. Vinogradov. (Moscow: State Publishing House for Socio-Economic Literature. 1962. Pp. 400.) The field of Soviet historiography has been particularly fertile during the last two decades. Ever since Rubinshtein's published and soon-banned historiography, there followed a host of other authors and works: Krandievsky, Shapiro, Illeritsky and Kudriavtsev, Astakhov, and, above all, the three-volume (to date) *History of Historical Science* edited by Tikhomirov, Nechkina, and others. The present volume deals with "bourgeois historiography," discussing mainly writings that deal with the origins of the First World War. The author examines published diplomatic papers, memoirs, diaries, and general writings since 1917. There are lengthy discussions of published diplomatic documents in Germany, Austria, Great Britain, and other countries. One chapter deals with the thread-worn "war-guilt" problem. The "Ententophiles," the "petit-bourgeois pacifists," revisionists, and Nazi-Fascist-oriented writers are all dealt with equally harshly. Their unforgivable sin is a total lack of familiarity with the "Marxist-Leninist methodology." Their method of historical "pruning" (*podchistka*), their falsification and disregard of the genuine causes emanate from the fact that to them the entire subject is reduced to a mere diplomatic game. These historians are totally blind to the inner nature of capitalism from which stems imperialistic aggression. The author ends with a citation from Lenin who in 1914 had already emphasized the need to unmask all sophistry and pseudo patriotism that lead to justification of war. Pseudoscientific methodology is still prevalent in bourgeois historiography. For this reason, according to Vinogradov, Lenin's warning of fifty years ago is still valid; the Soviet student of history should as ever be on guard against bourgeois falsification of the past. It is a thesis written in a hardly debatable vein, if you so believe.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

THE DEBATABLE ALLIANCE: AN ESSAY IN ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By Coral Bell. [Chatham House Essays, Number 3. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. 130. \$1.40.) Dr. Bell, an Australian, has presented within the context of recent world politics a provocative analysis of the much-debated Anglo-American alliance. Although she appreciates the "special relationship" that exists between the United States and Britain because of historic and traditional ties, she maintains that the analysis of their relationship except in terms of the rivalries of power within a

world context can only lead to sentimentality and the dismissal of the alliance as of little real value. Examining the major changes that have occurred in the world balance of power in the postwar period as well as those presently in progress, and treating the strategic relation as the central element within the diplomatic one, she arrives at the view that Britain's insistence on maintaining nuclear force has been and will continue to be significant both militarily and diplomatically in its relationships not only with America but with Europe and the rest of the world. Bell's essay is clearly and logically presented. It is documented, where sources for documentation have been available. There may be many who will disagree both with her analysis and conclusions; however, they will surely close this little volume with minds in intellectual ferment.

California State College, Fullerton

BETTY MILLER UNTERBERGER

Ancient and Medieval

MAN'S QUEST FOR POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE: THE STUDY AND TEACHING OF POLITICS IN ANCIENT TIMES. By *William Anderson*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 381. \$8.00.) In a rather rambling introduction Professor Anderson gives us his opinions on a number of subjects: he believes in progress; he has worked out a broad definition of politics, "as a result of my studies and background in the United States"; and he disagrees with some of his colleagues, "who seem to think that everything is new to-day and that nothing in the past has any real significance." His book is apparently planned as a chronological survey of the steps leading to the "systematic and rigidly scientific science of politics" now taught as a part of the graduate curriculum in modern universities. Utopias and political theory in general he regards as unfruitful for such a study. With this approach he has written a volume embracing a vast period of time, beginning with Babylonia and Egypt and continuing to A.D. 600. The emphasis, however, is on the Greeks, and only his discussion of them will be considered in this brief review. Anderson depends entirely on English translations, not only for the classical writers but for scholarly contributions in German as well, a limitation that has not deterred him from volunteering his own opinions at every turn. For example, he says the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were probably written about 900 B.C. in Chios. Also, with rare confidence he accepts the speculative suggestion that a chapter in Thucydides was really written by Hippias and adds later that Thucydides died in 411 B.C., which is certainly false. He does not confine his pronouncements to works that still survive, but undertakes to inform his readers just how Aristotle went about writing the lost treatises on the 158 "constitutions." After the information had been gathered together, he made a digest of the materials in alphabetical order! Anderson has strong likes and dislikes, none of them more pronounced than his feelings about Plato, of whom he says: "It is, I think, to be regretted that Plato sailed off on the wings of his Utopian schemes instead of applying his outstanding critical intelligence to realistic political analyses." Earlier he says that Plato left Athens after Socrates died, because "he was not the kind to stay in the face of risk," though when Aristotle, whom he admires, fled Athens on the death of Alexander, he did so to prevent the Athenians' committing another crime against philosophy. But the oddest statement in the book is about Socrates. After twitting him for neglecting his wife and children and for failing to advocate the emancipation of women, Anderson feels that we must make allowances for Socrates, since "the social practices of his day in Athens were not such as would win commendation in modern America." By way of conclusion it must be said that this volume fails to accomplish its ostensible purpose. Much of the material included is irrelevant to the subject—a kind of catalogue of well-known names—while what is germane is

not often made to yield anything particularly new or suggestive. On the other hand, useful texts like the *Athenian Constitution* attributed to the "Old Oligarch," the orations of Lysias, and the Second Book of the Aristotelian *Economics* are not mentioned.

University of California, Los Angeles

TRUESDELL S. BROWN

SOCIETY AND CIVILIZATION IN GREECE AND ROME. By *Victor Ehrenberg*. [Martin Classical Lectures, Volume XVIII.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for Oberlin College. 1964. Pp. xiv, 106. \$4.00.) For his Oberlin audience Ehrenberg provided a pleasant, leisurely promenade in the company of a deeply learned man. His four lectures, reproduced here with little change beyond the addition of a brief bibliography and plates, deal with Homeric Greece, the archaic era, classic Athens, and the Roman Republic. The Hellenistic Age and the Roman Empire he intentionally omits inasmuch as their civilizations were universal rather than being based on the city-state. In each area the reader meets the major literary figures and often some of the artistic monuments. Ehrenberg's judgments are properly qualified in spite of their brevity, and they show acquaintance normally with the recent literature; on matters such as slavery and pederasty he is frank and sensible. The work is not intended to discuss a specific thesis in regard to either social conditions or the progress of classical civilization; in consequence the essays are discursive rather than tightly organized.

University of Illinois

CHESTER G. STARR

MYTH AND RELIGION OF THE NORTH: THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT SCANDINAVIA. By *E. O. G. Turville-Petre*. [History of Religion.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1964. Pp. ix, 340. \$7.95.) The present work is the first comprehensive and critical study of ancient Scandinavian mythology and religion to be published in English. In the introductory chapter the author evaluates his sources, which consist of, among other things, runic inscriptions, poetry, sagas, and the works of Saxo Grammaticus and Snorri Sturluson. Five chapters are on five different deities: Odin, Thor, Balder, Loki, and Heimdall. The remaining chapters deal with "The Vanir," "The Lesser-Known Deities," "The Divine Kings," "The Divine Heroes," "Guardian Spirits," "Temples and Objects of Worship," "Sacrifice," "Godless Men," "Death," and "The Beginning of the World and Its End." The author has taken great care to present his source material in the proper chronological order. Thus he analyzes first either runic inscriptions or scaldic and Eddaic poetry, if these sources contain any mythological references, before discussing relevant prose works of a later date. This approach serves a twofold purpose. Runes, poetry, and sometimes place names are not only the earliest mythological references, but the poetry was also one of the chief sources on which later prose accounts were often based. Professor Turville-Petre has painstakingly examined a number of previous works on his subject. Particularly significant are those of A. Olrik, J. de Vries, and G. Dumézil. Magnus Olson's study of Scandinavian place names with mythological references was also most valuable. The striking similarity between some of the Norse myths and those from other parts of the world is not easy to explain. Are we to postulate a common Indo-European origin, or did similar social and environmental conditions in as remote parts as India and Scandinavia play an important part in the evolution of myth? When dealing with such complicated matters the author unfailingly proceeds with scholarly caution. Indeed, the sound judgment with which a sharp distinction is drawn between mere hypothesis and a well-founded argument greatly enhances the unmistakable quality of Turville-Petre's study as a whole. Odin looms large in Norse mythology, and it is, perhaps, not surprising that some of the other Scandinavian gods originally appear to have been a certain aspect of this versatile chief. The father of gods and men was

associated with numerous animals, was the god of war and death, and had a number of names, many of which had singularly descriptive qualities. The author, however, does not overemphasize the Christian element in the Odin myth. Turville-Petre has long since distinguished himself for his sound scholarship; his latest book will find prominence among major works in the field of ancient Scandinavian studies.

University of Manitoba

HARALDUR BESSASON

LES CONDITIONS POSITIVES DE L'ACCESSION AUX ORDRES DANS LA PREMIÈRE LÉGISLATION ECCLÉSIASTIQUE (300-492). By *Paul-Henri Lafontaine, O.M.I.* [Publications sériees de l'Université d'Ottawa, Number 71.] (Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1963. Pp. 398. \$6.75.) Father Lafontaine provides in this posthumous volume an exhaustive description of the conditions governing admission to the clergy established by ecclesiastical legislation in the fourth and fifth centuries. His study is based on a rigorous analysis of juridical documents. Numerous other sources, however, are skillfully introduced to clarify and explain the legal texts. The work is tightly organized around a few fundamental topics, a summary listing of which will indicate the issues that occupy the author's attention, without, unfortunately, conveying any of the learning, judiciousness, and thoroughness characteristic of the book. The first part of the volume is devoted to certain conditions of absolute necessity for admission to the clergy: masculine sex, baptism, and freedom of intention. The second part deals with what the author calls "les conditions de licéité," which were the major concern of the legislators: aptitude for clerical status and the mode of progression in the orders. Maturity, virtue, and learning were the major qualities of aptitude, chastity being the crucial issue. Lafontaine's treatment of the regulations established on this matter is a model of clarity and thoroughness, clearing up obscure points concerning early practices relative to clerical marriage and continence. With respect to progression in the orders, the author determines that ecclesiastical legislation established an obligation to receive a certain number of lesser orders as a qualification for advancement to the priesthood and the episcopacy and that each cleric was required to spend certain intervals between advances in grade. The author concludes that the pivotal conditions for access to the orders were chastity and observance of the intervals between ranks, the first derived from the Gospels and the second from Roman military and educational institutions. Though this is a fundamental study treating the problem of the formation of the clergy in the late imperial era, a warning should be made about it. Noting that all the conditions for admission to the clergy enumerated by the *Codex Juris Canonici* except two (confirmation and the titulus) were already present in the first legislation, the author has organized his book around sharply defined concepts in the code. This approach leaves the impression that already in the fourth and fifth centuries there prevailed a legalistic spirit that imposed clearly defined categories on disciplinary issues. Lafontaine realizes that the sources allow no such conclusion, and he repeatedly cautions against any such impression. However, only the most careful reading of the tightly organized chapters built upon rigorously defined legal concepts will prevent the over-all impression that the spirit of the canon lawyer was already at work in the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries. Perhaps a slightly looser structuring of the book, more attuned to the historical milieu, would have conveyed a truer sense of the struggles of the early Church to shape its most vital component: the clergy.

Michigan State University

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

IL MONASTERO DI SAN COLOMBANO DI BOBBIO DALLA FONDAZIONE ALL'EPOCA CAROLINGIA. By *Valeria Polonio*. [Publication Number 2.] (Genoa: [Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica.] 1962. Pp. 130. L. 2,000.) MOMENTI DI

STORIA E ARTE RELIGIOSA IN LIGURIA. [Publication Number 3.] (Genoa: [Fonti e Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica.] 1963. Pp. 309. L. 6,500.) The first volume of these scholarly studies is devoted to the early history of Bobbio, the celebrated foundation of St. Columban in the valley of the Trebbia. The author illuminates in turn the strategical location of the monastery, its growing prosperity under the Lombard and Carolingian rulers of north Italy, its internal organization, and the economic and social conditions that prevailed on the monastic estates. The author has had no easy task in presenting a reasonably connected discussion of these topics. The sources do not flow abundantly for the period of the seventh to the ninth century, and some of the surviving material, like the various *Vitae Columbani*, displays the typical exaggerations and omissions of hagiographical literature. But the *Codice Diplomatico* of the abbey gives much information on its political and economic relationships, and the author is well versed in the more specialized studies of the subject. It is curious, however, that the work does not elaborate upon the penitential activities of the community, a function that was deeply impressed upon it by St. Columban himself. Nor does the author enlarge upon the impact of economic prosperity and expansion on the spiritual energy of the inmates of Bobbio. The original spiritual confraternity had developed by the ninth century into an influential landed corporation served by more than six hundred tenants and laborers. St. Columban and his companions had worked with their hands to clear the soil for cultivation in the vicinity of Bobbio. Their successors two hundred years later had become in part administrators and estate managers of a widely flung agricultural complex that produced wine, grain, and olives in abundance. Had the practice of the economic virtues and skills helped to produce by the ninth century a situation that menaced the original spiritual ideals of the monastic community? In the second volume the same author clarifies the motives and circumstances that led Pope Innocent II to raise Genoa to the status of an archdiocese in 1133. A. M. Bolderini traces the activities of Azzo Visconti as bishop of Ventimiglia, 1250-1262. E. Poleggi reconstructs the architectural history of the abbey of S. Maria di Castello in Genoa. G. Balbi reviews with perception the history of the *Compagnia della Misericordia*, a remarkable exemplification of the lay piety that flourished in Genoa in the fifteenth century. This association of laymen, which visited prisons and offered spiritual consolation to condemned criminals, embodied the return in the later Middle Ages to the spirit of primitive Christianity and to a closer *imitatio Christi*. Finally, G. Colmuto gives a well-documented account of the career and works of the remarkable and prolific Genoese sculptor Anton Maria Maragliano (1664-1739). These studies are firmly based upon archival material; in their wider implications they are full of interest for the general historian.

McGill University

C. C. BAYLEY

CARLO MAGNO ED HARUN AL RASHID. By *Giosuè Musca*. [Università degli Studi di Bari, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna. Saggi, Number 1.] (Bari: Dedalo Litostampa. 1963. Pp. 151. L. 1,700.) CARLO MAGNO E L'INGHILTERRA ANGLO-SASSONE. By *Giosuè Musca*. [Università degli Studi di Bari, Istituto di Storia Medievale e Moderna. Saggi, Number 2.] (Bari: Dedalo Litostampa. 1964. Pp. 108. L. 1,200.) *Carlo Magno ed Harun al Rashid*, dedicated to Gabriele Pepe, is a study of the relations between the Western Christian and the Islamic worlds, 797-814. The author cites what appear to be most of the Latin sources on this subject; his Arabic sources, however, are limited to a few in translation, and these translations were made many years ago. Perhaps it might be well to describe this as a historiographic study for Musca considers the work of a number of important modern historians on the subject and then evaluates the contribution of each in the light of his own reading of the sources. He calls attention to the important religious, diplomatic, and economic contacts between

the Christian world and Islam in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. Although he cites Pirenne on the subject of Flemish wool used as a gift to Harun al-Rashid, the author is unaware or uninterested in the fact that much of the material he presents constitutes a refutation of that part of the Pirenne thesis which regards the Arabic conquest as responsible for bringing to an end the central position of the Mediterranean Sea. It would not be fair to criticize Musca for failing to cite many American and English historians whose writings touch his subject; rather it should be remarked with pleasure that references to a number of works written in English do appear. A bibliography covering sources and secondary works is included at the end of this volume. *Carlo Magno e l'Inghilterra anglosassone*, dedicated to Armando Saitta, is a study of contacts between England (primarily Northumbria and Mercia) and Francia in the closing years of the eighth century and the early years of the ninth century; the agents of these contacts are Offa, Alcuin, and Charlemagne. Musca's work rightly emphasizes the factors keeping Europe together in this period and thus de-emphasizes English isolation. Musca works more independently here than in the volume on Charlemagne and Harun al-Rashid, but from the standpoint of scholarship the result is less complete; furthermore, the absence of a bibliography makes it difficult to check how fully Musca has consulted other writers on the subject. This volume, nonetheless, performs a useful function in redirecting attention to the influence of continental factors on internal developments, especially ecclesiastical and economic, in Anglo-Saxon England.

Rice University

K. F. DREW

THE NORSE ATLANTIC SAGA: BEING THE NORSE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT TO ICELAND, GREENLAND, AMERICA. By Gwyn Jones. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 246. \$8.00.) Former president of the Viking Society for Northern Research, Professor Jones has brought up to date the almost forgotten story of the Viking voyages to North America and their settlements in Greenland, fusing in his book the saga material, startling evidence presented by the latest archaeological and archival, mainly Scandinavian, discoveries, and his own sober, interesting interpretations. Ancient churches, living quarters, and cemeteries unearthed in Greenland, sea voyages retraced in their actual geographical setting, and bits of archival material illuminate the shadowy stories of sagas. Thanks to these new aids many ancient sagas can be better understood and, soberly interpreted, appear as surprisingly rich storehouses of valuable and quite accurate historical information. Many Americans will be surprised to find that the Norse settlements in Greenland lasted for approximately five hundred years. Jones argues convincingly that the legendary Vinland can be quite safely located in a certain area in northern Newfoundland. In a scholarly and well-written story the author reveals in great detail the heroic greatness and human weakness of the ancient Norsemen in America and their struggle against the forces of Arctic nature, Indians, Eskimos (skraelings), and European plunderers. Gradually losing contact with Europe, they have vanished in the mist of history, leaving behind only some indestructible material evidence and their beautiful sagas, preserved in neighboring Iceland. Jones has enriched his story with new translations of the available, carefully edited sagas and even one Eskimo tale, twenty-five beautiful plates and other interesting illustrations, well-drawn maps, enlightening footnotes, and valuable appendixes. His bibliography is limited to a few essential works, however. Many readers will wish that a more complete list had been appended to include the many controversial works cited in the body of the text. Our historians should no longer ignore the Norse American settlements that existed long before Columbus and the British saw our shores. Surprisingly, the Norse colonies were extinguished at the time when the British planted their first colonies, actually creating a certain temporal continuity in American history from 986 to the present. Eirik the

Red's and Leif Ericson's voyages can no longer be brushed off as isolated historical incidents. Besides these men there are others worthy of mention, and the long-lasting settlement merits its place in the discussion of our "medieval" past, which so far does not exist in our history texts.

San Jose State College

EDGAR ANDERSON

THE CHRONICLE OF ÆTHELWEARD. Edited by *A. Campbell*. [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. lxiii, 56 Latin, 56 English, 57-68. \$4.80.) Students of medieval history are indebted to Professors V. H. Galbraith, R. A. B. Mynors, and Christopher Brooke, the general editors of Nelson's "Medieval Texts" series, for providing an ever-growing collection of highly competent modern editions of medieval sources. These editions, now twenty in number, include scholarly introductions followed by the texts themselves in both the original Latin and English translation. The present volume is an edition and translation of the Latin chronicle of Anglo-Saxon England written by the Wessex ealdorman Æthelweard in the later tenth century. Æthelweard was a bizarre Latinist (Mr. Campbell has done a heroic job with the translation) and a profoundly unoriginal historian. He drew most of his material almost verbatim from other sources, chiefly the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Still, the present edition serves an important purpose. For occasionally Æthelweard elaborates on our extant manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, providing, for example, otherwise unknown information on the foreign marriages of the Wessex dynasty. And between 893 and 946 Æthelweard depends on sources that are no longer extant. For these years he is, in effect, an independent authority. Finally, his translation of vernacular Anglo-Saxon source material into his own inimitable Latin provides occasional useful insights into the relationships between the two languages in tenth-century England. Campbell has done an admirable job of transcription, translation, and scholarly commentary. He depends primarily on Henry Savile's 1596 edition of the text (in *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores*) which itself was based on a manuscript of the early eleventh century. This manuscript—the sole surviving one—was practically destroyed in the British Museum fire of 1731, but eighteen charred fragments remain, and these Campbell has collated with the Savile text. The agreement is very close. The most recent previous edition of Æthelweard is in Petrie's *Monumenta historica Britannica* of 1848. The present edition is not only more readily available but also far more scholarly. It is a welcome addition to the Nelson series.

University of California, Santa Barbara

C. WARREN HOLLISTER

A RURAL SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL FRANCE: THE GÂTINE OF POITOU IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES. By *George T. Beech*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXII (1964), Number 1.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. 141. \$5.00.) Wanting to know how feudal institutions worked in a specific time and place and also seeking to understand men who made the institutions work, Sidney Painter wrote "Castellans of the Plain of Poitou in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" and "The Lords of Lusignan in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." Painter's approach is continued in depth by his student, Dr. Beech, who vividly depicted a corner of western France. Using primary sources, even though necessarily limited and ecclesiastical as he admits, the author has accomplished for the Gâtine of Poitou in the eleventh and twelfth centuries what Louis Merle did for its sixteenth- to eighteenth-century period. The first chapter describes the twelfth-century attraction of the bleak Gâtine for the monks of Citeaux and Fontevault as well as for secular society, the outstanding feature of society being dispersion of population. Chapter II considers the seigneurial House of Parthenay, unchallenged master of the Gâtine, its alliance much solicited by counts of Poitou and Anjou, the

Duke of Normandy in 1066, and kings of England and France. Two final chapters emphasize the powerful, close-knit nobility and, yet, the nonservility of the peasants. Three excellent maps, a well-arranged bibliography, and a helpful index complete this scholarly contribution.

University of Dayton

ERVING E. BEAUREGARD

SAINT ANSLEM AND HIS BIOGRAPHER: A STUDY OF MONASTIC LIFE AND THOUGHT, 1059-C. 1130. By R. W. Southern. [The Birkbeck Lectures, 1959.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 389. \$9.50.) This is a companion volume to that admirable text of the *Vita Anselmi* which Professor Southern has edited for the "Nelson Texts." Both volumes are the fruit of many years' research by a historian who is at home in the world of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. In this volume he presents a study of the lives and the writings of two men: Anselm, perhaps the greatest Benedictine figure of the eleventh century, and his more commonplace but keenly observant biographer. The two are certainly on different levels of ability, but they shared the same sympathies and prejudices, and together they illustrate Anglo-Norman monastic life and thought in a period of momentous change. In describing the life and writings of Anselm, monk of Bec and later archbishop of Canterbury, Southern has used the critical work of two Benedictine scholars, Dom Wilmart and Dom Schmitt, as well as his own. He shows how the devotional writings of Anselm, the prayers, meditations, and letters of friendship anticipate that new trend toward private piety which reached its climax in the later Middle Ages. He gives a clear and perceptive analysis of the development of Anselm's thought from the early treatises to the *Cur Deus Homo*, relating it to the intellectual and social background of the time. Although he does not attempt to answer all the questions or explain away the ambiguities, he stresses "that passionate instinct for obedience" which, he feels, colored Anselm's theology and other aspects of his thinking and his actions. To many English historians, Anselm is better known for his quarrels with William Rufus and Henry I and the dispute over lay investiture which resulted in five years of exile. Southern adds many details to the familiar story. His account differs from the recent study by Norman Cantor largely in point of view, since his main concern is with Anselm's reactions during the controversy. Thus he emphasizes the attempts to uphold the rights and privileges of the community and the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury, a factor in the struggle that probably had greater impact on contemporary opinion than the larger issue of royal versus papal authority. Anselm had neither the interest nor the political acumen to be a highly successful politician or administrator, and in the eyes of contemporaries his career as archbishop was a failure. His greatness lay in the sanctity of his private life, in his humility and gentleness, in the impression made by his personality and conversation upon a small group of friends including his biographer, Eadmer (or Edmer). The second part of the book, dealing with the life and work of Eadmer, presents new information on the monastic community of which he was a part. For Eadmer gives us almost our only account of the great monastery of Christ Church in the years just before and just after the Conquest. His writings included local hagiography, works of devotion, his *Historia Novorum*, and his biography of Anselm. The *Vita Anselmi* is an intimate record of the spoken words of his master and friend and so has an important place in the history of medieval biography. Both Anselm and Eadmer were able to give vivid expression to the feelings and aspirations of the changing world in which they lived. Southern understands this world; his book is distinguished by sympathy and careful scholarship.

Mount Holyoke College

NORMA ADAMS

THE CHRONICLE OF RICHARD OF DEVIZES OF THE TIME OF KING

RICHARD THE FIRST. Edited by *John T. Appleby*. [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. xxvi, 84 Latin, 84 English, 85-106. \$6.75.) GESTA FRANCORUM ET ALIORUM HIERSOLIMITANORUM. Edited by *Rosalind Hill*. [Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1962. Pp. xlv, 103 Latin, 103 English, 108-113. \$6.75.) The *Chronicle* of Richard of Devises covers the early years of the reign of Richard I, from 1189 to 1192. Written by an opinionated and sometimes irascible monk of St. Swithun's, Winchester, the *Chronicle* is chiefly valuable for the information it provides on conditions in England during Richard I's absence on the Third Crusade. Only two manuscripts of the *Chronicle* now exist: one of these (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 339) is almost certainly the author's autograph, with marginal annotations showing his additions to and revisions of the work as it progressed. The other manuscript, now in the British Museum, was in all likelihood copied directly from the first. Mr. Appleby's edition seems a sound one, although his text is perhaps not a startling improvement on the earlier edition by R. Howlett in the Rolls Series (1886). The translation reads easily and on the whole renders the text both accurately and smoothly into idiomatic English. The *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, one of the most important sources for the history of the First Crusade, has been published in five previous editions, but this new one is welcome for a number of reasons. For one thing, R. A. B. Mynors' edition of the text is a significant contribution. Mynors has wisely chosen to base his text on Vat. Reg. lat. 573, which dates from the early twelfth century and is the oldest and best of the seven surviving manuscripts of the *Gesta*. Unfortunately, variant readings in the other six manuscripts have been recorded in this edition only when their combined testimony differs from that of the basic manuscript. This procedure is based on the not entirely convincing premise that to record the full range of variants would overburden the text of the *Gesta* with notes, without contributing substantially to our knowledge of the original. The text printed here is, nonetheless, a distinct improvement on the earlier editions. The accompanying translation of the *Gesta* by Rosalind Hill is also welcome, for no other translation of this important source is readily available. An earlier translation by the late A. C. Krey was incorporated in the composite narrative of his *The First Crusade*, but the sole separate translation hitherto published, that by Somerset de Chair (1945), was issued only in a limited edition and, in any event, was not wholly satisfactory. Although one might quarrel with a few of Hill's renditions of the text, the translation is on the whole both faithful to the original and readable as English prose.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE

PETER THE VENERABLE AND ISLAM. By *James Kritzeck*. [Princeton Oriental Studies, Number 23.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 301. \$7.50.) As an Orientalist and coeditor with Giles Constable of a volume commemorating the eighth centenary of the death of Peter the Venerable of Cluny, Professor Kritzeck has for some time been engaged in the study of the celebrated abbot's role in the development of Western attitudes toward Moslems. The present volume presents the texts and analysis of the treatises on the Moslem religion which, together with a Latin translation of the Koran (apparently the first in its entirety), were arranged for by Peter on his trip to Spain in 1142. The texts were prepared by a group of Western scholars associated with the school of Toledo and a Moslem whose task it was to check on the accuracy of the translations. Peter himself added a brief summary. As Kritzeck graciously acknowledges, his own investigations were made possible by Mlle. Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's rediscovery and discussion of the manuscript that contains what is now called the Toledan Collection. Aware of the ignorance of Islam among his

contemporaries, Peter sought to provide a comprehensive explanation from original sources. It was also his intention that there should be a reasoned refutation of Moslem principles, and it seems that he originally wanted St. Bernard to do this. As it turned out, he did it himself in the *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*. Kritzeck feels that this treatise has not received the attention it deserves and has included the Latin text and an analysis from his own study of the only surviving manuscript. Concern with Islam inevitably involves consideration of the crusade. In the commemorative volume mentioned above, Virginia Berry presented the view that Peter was a firm supporter of the Second Crusade. Kritzeck believes, however, that the abbot's deepest feelings lay elsewhere, that he was distressed by the incompleteness of crusade objectives. Although he certainly did not reject the crusade as an instrument of policy, he persisted in regarding the conversion of Moslems as desirable. This charitable concern with non-Christians, moreover, was wholly exceptional in his day, "the testimony of one man's intelligence and zeal and fervent conviction. . . ." Prepared with evident scholarly competence and attractively printed, this volume is an important contribution to the fairly recently developed field of Western knowledge of Islam during the Middle Ages. Although Peter the Venerable's project has usually been regarded as an isolated phenomenon, the publication of this study will, nevertheless, aid in analyzing the sources used by later medieval students of Islam. It also adds significantly to our understanding of one of the most appealing personalities of the twelfth century.

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

LE COMTÉ DE BOURGOGNE SOUS LES HOHENSTAUFEN, 1156-1208. By *Jean-Yves Mariotte*. [Cahiers d'études comtoises, Number 4. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume LVI.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1963. Pp. 233.) The thesis summarized in the 1960 volume of the *Positions des thèses soutenues à l'École des Chartes* is now printed in full with a preface by Professor Rey. It includes an excellent bibliography and, among the appendixes, twenty-one *pièces justificatives*; a catalogue of royal and imperial acts concerning the county of Burgundy (1139-1220); and a discussion of the date used in twelfth-century Besançon for reckoning the beginning of the year. In a preliminary general discussion, the author describes the creation of the county of Burgundy around the year 1000 by Otho Guillaume, count of Mâcon, and shows how, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the authority of the emperors was recognized there and in the other parts of the former kingdom of Burgundy long before the county passed from Count Renaud III (1129-1148) to Frederick Barbarossa through the marriage of Frederick to Renaud's daughter Beatrix. Succeeding chapters describe the relations of the nobles of the county with Frederick Barbarossa and his Hohenstaufen successors; the repercussions of the schism of 1159-1177 on the county, which almost exactly coincided with the diocese of Besançon, and formed a kind of no man's land between the two obediences; the early history of the commune of Besançon, confirming the inadmissibility of the sentence of Mainz; and the administration of the county by the Hohenstaufen and their legates. This well-organized and clearly written book makes a substantial and scholarly contribution both to the general history of twelfth-century Europe, especially the reign of Frederick Barbarossa, and to the local history of the county of Burgundy—a history not yet written by any modern scholar, but now admirably begun by M. Mariotte. Let us hope that he, or someone inspired by him, will continue the story toward the close of the Middle Ages, when the county of Burgundy once again formed part of a major European power.

Corpus Christi College

RICHARD VAUGHAN

OXFORD STUDIES PRESENTED TO DANIEL CALLUS. [Oxford Historical Society, New Series, Volume XVI.] (Oxford, Eng.: Clarendon Press for the Society.

1964. Pp. viii, 319. £3 3s.) This is exactly the type of *Festschrift* one is happy to see. The volume has a central theme: the early history of the University of Oxford. Then, too, the essays are presented in honor of Father Daniel Callus, a distinguished scholar of the thirteenth-century Oxford schools. The foreword is by R. W. Southern. In his excellent essay, A. B. Emden attempts to show how animosity between the northerners and southerners influenced the organization of and life in the university. W. A. Pantin has done an outstanding job of reconstructing from various sources descriptions of a number of the halls and schools of medieval Oxford. W. A. Hinnebusch has an enlightening section on foreign Dominican students and professors at the Blackfriars. L. Boyle analyzes the curriculum of the faculty of canon law in the first half of the fourteenth century "to see with what success one can trace a student's course from the statutes at any given period." He concludes that the course of study produced a group of capable canonists but no truly outstanding ones. In his essay, R. W. Hunt checks the qualifications of four Oxford grammar masters and reaches the conclusion that by the end of the fourteenth century standards had declined miserably. C. Martin's essay deals with the interesting career of Walter Burley who spent considerable time at both Oxford and Paris. James A. Weisheipl treats in a scholarly manner the logic, natural philosophy, and theology of Roger Swyneshed, and B. Smalley presents interesting information on Wyclif's *Postilla* on the Old Testament and on his *Principium*, or inaugural lecture. In the final essay, I. Thomas subjects to critical analysis Oxford logic and logicians of the seventeenth century. At the end of the volume there is a listing, by year, of Callus' writings. Callus has truly been honored with nine excellent essays by nine fine historians. Students of medieval university history will be grateful to the Oxford Historical Society for publishing this volume.

Mississippi State University

HAROLD S. SNELGROVE

UOMINI E COSE DEL MEDIOEVO MEDITERRANEO. By *Francesco Giunta*. (Palermo: U. Manfredi Editore. [1964.] Pp. 309. L. 3,500.) This is a collection of eight studies, all of which were published before and most of which are concerned with the history of medieval Sicily. The "men" considered are Archbishop Berardo, friend and counselor of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Ferrer de Abella, an Aragonese diplomat at the papal court of Avignon; the Florentine Uberti family in Sicily; and Fra Giuliano Mayali, a diplomat serving Alfonso the Magnanimous. The "things" examined are the Vandals' reputation for barbarism in the fifth century and the German reputation for barbarism in twelfth-century Sicily (the "furor teutonicus"); the relations of Frederick II with Ferdinand III of Castile; and the Tunisian policy of James II of Aragon. Giunta is chiefly interested in diplomacy, administration, and personalities. He handles his subjects deftly and often perspicaciously and buttresses his arguments by including, for four of the essays, appendixes of hitherto unpublished documents.

University of Wisconsin

DAVID HERLIHY

ROBERTI GROSSETESTE EPISCOPI LINCOLNIENSIS COMMENTARIUS IN VIII LIBROS PHYSICORUM ARISTOTELIS. Edited by *Richard C. Dales*. [Studies and Texts in Medieval Thought.] (Boulder: University of Colorado Press. 1963. Pp. xxxii, 192. \$6.50.) Robert Grosseteste is seemingly one of the original and pivotal figures in the history of science. Through the works of A. C. Crombie, S. Harrison Thomson, Josiah Russell, D. A. Callus, and others, the importance of Grosseteste has come to be clearly realized. Not the least of his importance was his attempt to make Greek science understandable to his contemporaries. His *Commentary on the Physics* was one of the earliest, if not the earliest, attempt in Latin Europe to provide a systematic investigation of the text of Aristotle's *Physics*. Even though the work re-

mained incomplete at Grosseteste's death, probably existing only as marginal notes and inserts in Grosseteste's own copy of a Latin version of Aristotle's work, it exercised great influence on such people as Duns Scotus, Walter Burley, and John Wyclif. It was through these men that most of the original and significant thought of Grosseteste on Aristotle was incorporated into the mainstream of European thought. Despite its influence, Grosseteste's *Commentary* has never been published in its entirety. Before a basic understanding of the real influence of Grosseteste in this area can be judged, it is obviously necessary to have a scholarly text. This is what Professor Dales has given us. For his task, he utilized the three extant manuscripts of the entire *Commentary*, two dating from about 1325, and the third about a century later, plus five manuscript copies of part of the eighth book. By collating the manuscripts, indicating variant readings, and giving the sources and references that Grosseteste used, Dales has given us as nearly definitive a text as we are likely to get. He is to be commended for his long devotion to the task. By providing a brief and concise introduction to the history of the *Commentary*, Dales has added greatly to the value of his editing.

San Fernando Valley State College

VERN L. BULLOUGH

ÉTUDES SUR LA POLÉMIQUE ENTRE THÉODORE MÉTOCHITE ET NICÉPHORE CHOUMNOS: LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE ET POLITIQUE À BYZANCE SOUS LES PREMIERS PALÉOLOGUES. By *Ihor Ševčenko*. [Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae, Subsidia, Number 3.] (Brussels: Éditions de *Byzantion*. 1962. Pp. viii, 330. 400 fr. B.) With this volume Ševčenko has inaugurated what promises to be an interesting series of studies on the intellectual history of the Palaeologan period (1261–1453). In the first part he deals primarily with the relations between Theodore Metochites and Nicephorus Chumnus (d. 1327), both of whom reached the highest ranks in the imperial administration and were at the same time among the most erudite scholars of their times. Ševčenko contends that, contrary to the accepted opinion (according to which their friendship was never marred by friction), Metochites and Chumnus became estranged from each other and exchanged a series of acrimonious letters. Actually, there is no text that mentions any such estrangement; nor does either Chumnus or Metochites refer by name to the other in his polemical writings. The proof that a rupture took place depends upon a series of inferences. But Ševčenko marshals the facts meticulously, in large part from materials that had not been published hitherto, and makes out a plausible case for his theory that they did in fact sever friendly relations and that the break is probably to be dated about 1305, when Metochites succeeded to the post that Chumnus had previously occupied. This seems to be a reasonable interpretation of the facts, although it is somewhat peculiar that the correspondence in which Ševčenko finds his evidence did not take place until around 1321–1327. The two disputants quarreled about questions of literary style and astronomy (in the latter of which Metochites clearly had the advantage over Chumnus). But, from what Ševčenko has been able to determine, they were eclectics in philosophy, so that it is improper to regard either one or the other as exclusively Platonic or Aristotelian in orientation. The second part of the book contains the first edition of the Greek text (with French translation) of two polemics directed by Metochites presumably against Chumnus. The third part is devoted to five appendixes on various details, the last of which includes a Greek text of unknown authorship on "scholars contemporary and modern, who are unjustly criticized." Ševčenko makes illuminating remarks on a number of points, and the material as a whole, especially the Greek texts, should prove useful for workers in a field too long neglected.

University of California, Los Angeles

MILTON V. ANASTOS

THE LETTER-BOOK OF WILLIAM OF HOO, SACRIST OF BURY ST EDMUNDS, 1280-1294. Edited by *Antonia Gransden*. [Suffolk Records Society, Volume V.] ([Ipswich:] the Society. 1963. Pp. 166.) Describing the letter book of William of Hoo, Antonia Gransden points out that it is a hybrid between a formulary and a letter book. Her little volume is also a hybrid. The first part is an edition of William's letter book; the second, an edition of related documents. For the letter book, she follows Harley MS. 230 in the British Museum; for the related documents, she makes use of British Museum MS. Harley 645 for the first twenty entries and Cambridge University Library MS. Ff. ii.33 for the last six. In her introduction, the editor discusses the background of the manuscripts and includes a chronological list of the dated and datable entries in the letter book and related documents. These entries interestingly illuminate William's activities as sacrist, archdeacon, and papal agent. Each entry is dated, numbered, and prefaced with a summary in English. Although copies of the manuscripts used for the present edition were not available to me, the Latin seems to be in good order; I therefore conclude that Gransden is a quite competent paleographer. In evaluating the letter book as historical evidence, she notes that even though the letters are not authentic documents in the sense of being letters written to be sent, there is evidence that some of them were derived from authentic ones. This authenticity has long been recognized by such scholars as Miss M. D. Lobel and the late Professor W. E. Lunt. Both Gransden and the Suffolk Records Society are to be commended for issuing a sound piece of historical scholarship.

Mississippi State University

HAROLD S. SNELLGROVE

LA "LECTURA SUPER DIGESTO VETERI" DI CINO DA PISTOIA: STUDIO SUI MSS SAVIGNY 22 E URB. LAT. 172. By *Domenico Maffei*. [Quaderni di "Studi Senesi," Number 10.] (Milan: Dott. A. Giuffrè, Editore. 1963. Pp. viii, 74. L. 800.) Cynus of Pistoia has always been a writer of great interest to legal historians as the mediator between the post-Accursian *doctores moderni*—those from Orleans in particular—and the generation of his great pupil, Bartolus of Sassoferrato; he was no doubt a key figure in that development of fourteenth-century jurisprudence from which the *jus commune* of late medieval society emerged. The teaching of Cynus is best known from his *Lectura Codicis* (c. 1312-1314). Medieval commentators, however, also quoted from a *Lectura* of his *super Digesto veteri*, but these quotations do not fit the short *Lectura* that has survived in manuscripts and early printings (1526 and others). They must refer to a major work of which all traces seemed to be lost after the mid-sixteenth century. In his ingenious and profoundly learned investigation Professor Maffei is able to demonstrate that the lost work of Cynus exists in two manuscripts where it is disguised under the name of Bartolus and precedes the latter's famous *Lectura* on the *Digestum vetus*. It is an incomplete, elaborate exposition of part of the first book of the Digest and has been classified, ever since Savigny discovered it over a century ago, as a student's *reportatio* of an early lecture given by Bartolus before he composed his definitive commentary. In challenging this generally accepted conclusion, Maffei marshals uncontrovertible proofs for the authorship of Cynus. It would be impossible here to summarize the complex argument, but two important corollaries should be noted. First, we are now in a position to evaluate the indebtedness of Bartolus to his master's *Lectura* (including certain passages that thus far have passed as autobiographical but must now be referred to Cynus). Secondly, we can now follow the development of Cynus' own thought in his later years, since the rediscovered *Lectura* was composed toward the end of his life, about 1330-1336. Historians of political thought will be particularly interested in the pages that discuss the late conversion of Cynus from a dualist to a hierocratic view on the Two Powers. Indirect evidence of this change of heart existed before (see Maffei, "Cino da Pistoia e il 'Constitutum Constantini,'"

Annali della Università di Macerata, XXIV [1960], 95-115); it is now fully confirmed in Maffei's brilliant piece of detection.

Yale University

STEPHAN KUTTNER

LA MAISON DE SAVOIE. Volume II, AMÉDÉE VIII: LE DUC QUI DEVINT PAPE. Parts 1 and 2. By *Marie José*. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1962. Pp. 446; 373. 16.50 fr. each.) Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy (1383-1451) was a remarkable member of a remarkable family which, after ruling in the western Alps since A.D. 1000, exchanged its duchy of Savoy for the kingdom of Italy in 1861. Under Amadeus VIII the Savoyard state reached its medieval apogee. Territorial annexations extended Savoyard dominion across the Alps from the Saône to the Sesia, from Bern to Nice. Amadeus VIII promulgated the *Statuta Sabaudiae* of 1430, secured the elevation of Savoy to ducal rank in 1416, developed the court of Savoy as a cultural center, and wove a vast web of international alliances extending from Brittany to Cyprus. Then, in 1434, he suddenly withdrew into a quasi-monastic community on the shores of Lake Geneva, and five years later he was elevated to the papacy by the Council of Basel. As Pope Felix V the former duke struggled somewhat halfheartedly against his Roman rival and finally, in 1449, renounced his pontifical dignity in return for that of apostolic legate, cardinal of Sabina, and bishop of Geneva. He is a worthy subject for this full-length biography by Marie José, former queen of Italy, herself a member by marriage of the present House of Savoy. As a work of historical scholarship these volumes are disappointing. The author is at her best when describing moments of pomp and pageantry, or when supplying miscellaneous details on the life and times. She is weakest when attempting to place her data meaningfully into the larger contexts of Savoyard and European history. Her decision to separate "politique régionale" from "politique étrangère" (these two chapters occupy over three hundred pages) results in a confusing picture of both. Amadeus VIII was a resourceful intriguer who pursued many complicated projects simultaneously, and his policies in one theater can hardly be evaluated without taking into account those he pursued at the same time elsewhere. Equally disappointing is the author's failure to develop a balanced and objective conception of Amadeus the man. She ceaselessly extols his wisdom and his "nature pacifique," despite several aggressive undertakings badly managed, despite his unsatisfactory arrangements for governing the state after 1439, despite his willingness to promote schism in the Church as an antipope. Amadeus VIII was fully as ambitious for lands and power as were his warlike forebears, and if he chose not to lead his armies in person, the explanation may well lie in physical weakness and poor health, not in "wisdom" or in any real preference for peace. It is regrettable that the author did not at least examine this possibility in her effort to understand her subject.

Wellesley College

EUGENE L. COX

CALENDAR OF INQUISITIONS MISCELLANEOUS (CHANCERY) PRESERVED IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. Volume VI, 1392-1399. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. v, 359. \$24.00.) The history and nature of the class of records preserved in the Public Record Office at London and known as Chancery Miscellaneous Inquisitions are fully described in the introductions to Volumes I and IV of this series. In this volume, files 252-271 are calendared, together with a few other items; the next is planned to cover the years 1399-1422; and a final, eighth volume will complete the calendaring of this particular class, which extends only to 1485. The contents of this volume are broadly similar to those of its predecessors. Volume V contained extensive inventories of the lands and goods of the victims of the "Merciless Parliament" of 1388. The whole of the second half of Volume VI is taken up with the detailed results of inquisitions into

the property of Richard II's opponents forfeited for treason in 1397-1399. These men, who included the archbishop of Canterbury and two dukes, were among England's wealthiest magnates, and the inventories of their lands and personal possessions are extensive and interesting, though not one of them could boast of anything much in the way of books, jewelry, tapestry, or paintings. The first half of this volume is more varied in content. Although much of the material concerns land and land tenure, there is information of interest about castles, escaped prisoners, suicides, outlaws, endowed chapels, household belongings of priests, and other miscellaneous matters. Lexicographers will find a wealth of interesting vernacular material imperfectly listed in the subject index. Economic historians may find these documents particularly rewarding. They contain information about ships and their contents, about agricultural products and their prices, and valuations of property of all kinds. There are information about coal mining at Newcastle upon Tyne and a detailed list of the "pirate" weavers of Yorkshire, who worked in defiance of their privileged rivals in the city of York. No comment is needed on the arrangement, editing, calendaring, and indexing; all is done admirably, as in other recent Public Record Office volumes. The subject index is also lavish, with lengthy entries under livestock, farm implements, fabrics, furniture, and even containers.

Corpus Christi College

RICHARD VAUGHAN

JEAN V, DUC DE BRETAGNE, ET L'ANGLETERRE (1399-1442). By *George Akenhead Knowlson*. [Archives historiques de Bretagne, Number 2.] (Cambridge, Eng.: W. Heffer and Sons; Rennes: Librairie de Bretagne. 1964. Pp. xii, 192.) Mr. Knowlson presented this volume as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Paris. In it he has attempted to evaluate the life of John V, who, because of his claims to the county of Brittany on the Continent and to the earldom of Richmond in England, was caught between the kings of England and France during the Hundred Years' War. Such a situation made his career as complicated as the war itself. Then, too, John was involved in a web of diplomatic intrigue that must have been as frustrating to him as to those who read about him. Generally speaking, the author has done a competent piece of work. Several years of experience, however, should teach him not to make such statements as "historians who treat France and England as if all forces tend toward unity are in error." Certainly those historians were not medievalists, or Knowlson would have known that they do not think such a thing. In writing his book, Knowlson had excellent advice on his French, but it is evident at times that he is not writing in his native language. This is especially noticeable in the clichés, in which the book abounds. In his bibliography the author has cited a considerable body of manuscript sources, but his footnotes reveal that his work is based almost entirely on printed materials. In spite of the criticisms, Knowlson's volume gives interesting information not only on John V but also on the role of Brittany during the Hundred Years' War.

Mississippi State University

HAROLD S. SNELGROVE

IL CATASTO DI PISA DEL 1428-29. Edited by *Bruno Casini*. [Pubblicazioni della Società Storica Pisana. Collana Storica, Number 2.] (Pisa: Tipografia Editrice Giardini. 1964. Pp. xxiii, 558. L. 8,000.) The famous Florentine *catasto* of 1427, the new system of taxation that replaced the time-honored *estimo*, has long been a subject of intense interest to historians. This volume contains a detailed summary of the Pisan *catasto* of 1428-1429 imposed by the Florentine priory upon that portion of the Florentine state. It is lent special value by the fact that it is, to my knowledge, as yet the only such publication of the contents of an early Italian *catasto*. Dr. Casini has carefully summarized the contents of the denunciations of the assets and obligations and of the tax imposed upon each of 1,752 Pisan families, arranged according to the district in the

city in which the head of each household resided. The individual entries include the name, age, occupation, and citizenship status of the head of each family, the name, age, sex, and relationship to him of each of his dependents, the locations of his immovable properties, the tax deductions allowed him and the amount of his taxation, and the archival register and folio in which each item appears. Further enriched by an excellent introduction, appendixes (including a listing of the entries according to the amount of tax assessed upon the head of each household), and an index of the taxpayers' occupations as well as a name index, this book contains a wealth of data that will surely be put to excellent use by economic, social, demographic, and political historians.

University of Nebraska

WILLIAM M. BOWSKY

Modern Europe

NOVAS ACHEGAS À HISTÓRIA DOS DESCOBRIMENTOS MARÍTIMOS. By T. O. Marcondes de Souza. [Coleção da "Revista de História," Number 27.] (São Paulo: Livraria Herder. 1963. Pp. 239.) T. O. Marcondes de Souza has been for many years one of the most assiduous commentators on the history of the great discoveries that laid the foundations of European influence in America and Asia. Few numbers of the *Revista de História* have not contained at least one contribution from him, ranging from a short review article to a substantial discussion of a major problem in exploration history. His papers have been marked throughout by both common sense and a wide range of scholarly information. They are usually argumentative, but not mere polemic; they are contributions to a continued debate on disputed questions and are invariably marked by the courtesies of academic discussion. This collection of eighteen separate items is the second to be extracted from the *Revista*, and, once more, to read it is like attending a seminar on the history of the discoveries in which the learned conductor is concerned to expose a problem, to read the crucial pieces of evidence concerning it, to consider the opposing views of modern commentators and then to pronounce judgment among them, or to suggest an alternative interpretation. The topics considered range from the supposed voyage of the Vivaldi around Africa in 1291 (where Marcondes de Souza expounds Rinaldo Caddeo's case for assuming the voyage was completed), through problems of the Magellan voyage and the line of demarcation between Spain and Portugal in the Moluccas to questions about Atlantic voyages in the fifteenth century and, in considerable detail, on the precise circumstances of the first Portuguese discovery of Brazil at the opening of the sixteenth century. A good example of his method is in his discussion of the Bianco map of 1448 ("Um suposto descobrimento do Brasil antes de 1448") where all the evidence and alternative conclusions are reviewed in detail before an opinion is given. He does not mince words on occasion, and his trouncing of Damião Peres for reviving Jaime Cortesão's claim that Diogo de Teive and Pedro de Velasco discovered Newfoundland in 1452 is vigorously and effectively done. His heroes in the present century are the Portuguese Duarte Leite and the American S. E. Morison who invariably win his approval when their views are cited. He greatly enjoyed, it is clear, using the former's discussion of what is known of Prince Henry the Navigator's establishment at Sagres, which is almost nothing, against traditional claims, still reiterated as received doctrine in the Portuguese ruling hierarchy that Prince Henry presided over a kind of monastic university of pilots and cartographers. There is not much wholly new, but much that is alive and soundly based on the documents: his motto might well be the words with which he ends one of his papers, "Mas História não são arriscadas conjecturas, mas sim documentos."

University of Liverpool

DAVID B. QUINN

L'EXPANSION EUROPÉENNE (1600-1870). By *Frédéric Mauro*. ["Nouvelle Clio": L'Histoire et ses problèmes, Number 27.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1964. Pp. 417. 20 fr.) Professor Frédéric Mauro belongs to a small band of French scholars, spiritual disciples of Fernand Braudel, who insist on studying non-European civilizations as fully mature parts of a world economy rather than as merely primitive sources of raw materials and markets for manufactured goods. His latest contribution is a specialist's handbook on the economic, technical, and intellectual factors that made European overseas expansion possible and the impact on Asia, Africa, and the New World of European explorers, soldiers, merchants, colonists, and missionaries. What distinguishes this work from other histories of exploration is Mauro's heavy emphasis on utilizing the analytical tools of the social sciences. He shows how the techniques of the geographer, demographer, anthropologist, economist, and ethnologist may be used to give flesh to a historical skeleton. In line with this approach, the bibliography forming Part I concentrates on the generation of historical writing since 1945 when "scientific" studies first began to appear in abundance. References to the political and diplomatic story are left to be sought elsewhere. Parts II and III, entitled "Nos connaissances" and "Directions de recherche," are collections of chapters on various special subjects relating to the central theme. Technical problems, such as developments in naval architecture, modifications in sail design, and the inventions of navigational instruments, are handled flawlessly. Mauro also excels in demonstrating how combined commercial and missionary activities altered patterns of social life overseas and produced cross-cultural fertilization. Profuse detail on colonial agriculture, the flow of goods across the seas, and fluctuations in the quantities of money and credit adds up to impressive evidence that by the close of the eighteenth century the economic foundations of the world civilization in which we live were already established. The rigorous division of the book into separate narrative and analytical parts produces some unhappy consequences. Part II is filled with information of the kind noted above. The reader has little idea of the significance of the information until the author goes over the same ground in Part III in an attempt to draw conclusions. As a result, there is much unnecessary repetition, and, what is worse, the reader is driven to frantic page flipping in order to follow Mauro's argument. This book will tantalize the European historian without satisfying his appetite, for Mauro deliberately excluded all but a brief glance at the European scene. In a classic bit of understated prose he suggests that the "appearance of a commercially-oriented *haute bourgeoisie* in the port towns and of industrial interests linked to the colonial trade, the presence of pressure groups defending these interests in parliaments and in the councils of government are not . . . negligible" factors. For all its emphasis on overseas developments, one leaves this book more certain than ever that it is to the European continent that we must return to discover the world-shaking consequences of expansion. This is perhaps not the effect that Mauro intended. Nevertheless, for me the primary significance of the volume is that it adds a new dimension to our model of the European political economy as it entered the age of revolutions.

Southern Illinois University

SANFORD H. ELWITT

DIE NÜRNBERGER UNIVERSITÄT ALTDORF UND BÖHMEN: BEITRÄGE ZUR ERFORSCHUNG DER OSTBEZIEHUNGEN DEUTSCHER UNIVERSITÄTEN. By *Heinrich Kunstmann*. (Köln Graz: Böhlau Verlag. 1963. Pp. xi, 264. DM 24.) By a scholar of early Czech culture, this study is further evidence of interest in East-West relations among German historians. The book investigates points of contact between the University of Altdorf (sponsored by the city of Nuremberg) and Bohemia during the years 1575 and 1809, but especially in the period preceding the Thirty Years' War. The author realizes that two other German universities, Leipzig and

Wittenberg, had far more significant relations with the lands to the east. However, through detailed investigations, based chiefly on archival material available in Germany and monographic studies in Czech and Polish, he shows the existence of intensive intellectual associations between Altdorf (Nuremberg) and Bohemia, and occasionally ties to Hungary and Poland. He briefly indicates the commercial interests Nuremberg merchants had in Bohemia and incidentally hints at the delicate maneuvering of the city fathers between Czech Hussites, a Roman Catholic emperor, and Calvinist circles. A forty-page excursus provides a meticulously annotated listing of the four hundred Bohemian students who spent time at Altdorf (among whom were Wallenstein and a son of Kepler). The core of the treatise concerns itself with the eastern associations cultivated by two men: Konrad Rittershausen, a prominent member of Altdorf's legal faculty, who had numerous ties with Bohemian humanists, and Georg Rehm, a legal counselor of the city of Nuremberg and later provost of Altdorf. Every conceivable point of contact between Altdorf and Bohemia has been tracked down and carefully documented. But the more one reads about these intellectual and personal ties, the more one feels the need for a fuller explanation of the significance of these relations. The author, communicating his own sense of excitement over his discoveries in a territory hardly touched by scholarly investigations, promises further studies in this area of intellectual history. Hopefully, subsequent work will supplement matters of erudite detail with a summary of their historical import.

University of Chicago

KARL J. WEINTRAUB

BRIEFWECHSEL, 1850-1890. Volume I, 1850-1869. By *Ignaz von Döllinger* and *Lord Acton*. Edited by *Victor Konzemius*. [Ignaz von Döllinger, Briefwechsel, 1820-1890. Volume I. Herausgegeben von der Kommission für bayerische Landesgeschichte bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1963. Pp. xlv, 578.) Except for the extensive use made of Döllinger's letters to friends and colleagues in Germany in the three-volume biography by Johannes Friedrich (1899-1901), little of his correspondence has appeared in print. If his works on ecclesiastical history (the English translations of which exceed Ranke's in number) and his polemical writings in the cause of Liberal Catholicism reveal the scholarly excellence of the autodidact and a religious conscience no less self-wrought, only his letters can capture in addition the European range of his interest and the endearing warmth of his friendship. It is to this latter end that the present edition of Döllinger's personal communications has been initiated. This volume, the first of three to contain the Döllinger-Acton correspondence, offers substantially more information on Sir John Acton than it does on the mentor and friend who was thirty-five years his senior. Of the 32 letters from the Munich professor reproduced for this period, 25 are confined to the years 1867-1869, while by contrast there appear nearly 150 of Acton's letters written in fluent and idiomatically expressive German. In Acton, noble-born, wealthy, extremely well read, and with ample occasion to travel, Döllinger had a friend eminently fitted to provide him with an open window to the world of scholarship and religious-political currents beyond Germany. The letters are filled with reports on the opinions and scholarly projects of important contemporaries; they also present an accurate reflection of the deeper concerns of the two Liberal Catholics toward the religious trends of the day both in England and on the Continent. For students of Acton the correspondence will document the range of his historical interest by the avidity of his book collecting, reading, and research. Konzemius is to be commended for the diligence with which he tracked down the complete Acton correspondence and for the thoroughness that has gone into the identifications and clarifications accompanying the text. This initial installment of the letters lacks an index, but one will appear with the third volume. Promised for the fourth volume of the series is a monograph by

Conzemius dealing with the entire Döllinger-Acton correspondence. The series will be completed with three or four additional volumes containing Döllinger's exchange of letters with English, French, and German correspondents.

Charlotte College

R. W. RIEKE

EUROPEAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS, 1939-45: PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE HISTORY OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS, HELD AT MILAN, 26-29 MARCH 1961. [Pergamon Press Book.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1964. Pp. xliii, 663. \$17.50.) Promoted by the *Istituto Storico per la Storia della Resistenza Italiana* with the help of the Italian government and the city of Milan, the Second International Conference on the History of the Resistance Movements was held in Milan, March 26-29, 1961, and was attended by several hundred historians and research workers from the United States and Europe, as well as by numerous veterans of the various resistance movements. In every way it was a worthy successor to the first conference which took place in Liège, September 14-17, 1958, under the aegis of the Belgian Federation of Professors of History. The Liège conference produced an important historical synthesis of the European resistance, drafted by Henri Michel, secretary-general of the *Comité d'Histoire de la Deuxième Guerre Mondiale*. The proceedings of the Liège conference are published in Volume I of this series. The Milan conference adopted a broader theme of great interest and controversy: the liaison activities, physical support, and general political relationships between the three great Allies and the various European resistance movements. Delegations came not only from the Western countries but also from the Communist bloc. Three major papers discussing the roles of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States were presented, respectively, by Mr. F. W. Deakin, warden of St. Antony's College, Oxford; Mr. E. Boltine of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow; and Professor Norman Kogan of the Department of Political Science at the University of Connecticut. The papers by Deakin and Kogan were substantial historical contributions, far more balanced and objective than the polemical paper presented by Boltine, although his was not entirely without interest. Sessions were also set aside for four other topics: "The Resistance in Eastern Europe"; "The Resistance in Western Europe"; "The Great National Resistance Movements (France, Poland, Yugoslavia)"; and "The Resistance in Germany and Austria." There were many disagreements regarding interpretations of Soviet Russia's policy between August 23, 1939, and June 1941; the Warsaw uprising of 1944; De Gaulle's movement; and the resistance movements in Yugoslavia, Greece, and elsewhere. Papers presented by the Communist delegations adhered closely to the party line and were usually prepared by official committees. Those presented by Westerners, on the other hand, were prepared individually and usually made a sincere attempt at being objective. Among the ablest such papers were those on "The Italian Resistance and the Allies," prepared jointly by Professor Franco Venturi and Former Premier Ferruccio Parri, veteran leader of Italy's northern underground; "Les Grands Alliés et la Résistance Extérieure Française," by Professor J.-B. Duroselle; and "La Résistance Française et les Alliés," by Marcel Baudot. In his final general report, "Les Alliés et la Résistance en Europe," Henri Michel made a valiant attempt to pull together the often irreconcilable points of view expressed at the conference. An appendix contains rebuttals of Deakin, Boltine, and Kogan to some of the criticisms directed at them. None of the other interjections from the floor are included. The book is handsomely printed in a combination of English and French. Unfortunately, the proofreading leaves much to be desired.

Vanderbilt University

CHARLES F. DELZELL

THE POLISH-GERMAN FRONTIER IN THE LIGHT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. By *Bolesław Wiewióra*. Preface by *Alfons Kłafkowski*. (2d Eng. ed.; Poznań: Instytut Zachodni. 1964. Pp. 225.) This study surveys the legal aspects of the Oder-Neisse frontier as seen by a Polish political scientist. Dr. Wiewióra marshals his arguments to support the Polish position and in the process refutes some of the main counterarguments of the Germans. He disproves in particular the thesis, often advanced by German jurists, that the Big Three had no right to dispose of German territory. On the other hand, his claim that the term "final determination of Poland's western frontier" in the Potsdam agreement refers only to the tracing of the boundary line on the ground is incompatible with the history and the wording of that agreement. In this connection one would have liked to see him discuss the significance of the difference in arrangements made for East Prussia and Poland's western frontier, respectively. As every analyst of the Potsdam agreement must, Wiewióra tries hard to disentangle the basic contradiction in the official text of the Oder-Neisse arrangements. He points out that the final protocol speaks of the land east of the Oder-Neisse Line as "former German territories," indicating that they were no longer considered German, but discounts the further statement that these territories "shall be under the administration of the Polish state and *for such purposes* should not be considered as part of the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany [*italics mine*]." He maintains that the Western Powers agreed that the territory had become Polish since they collaborated in the removal of its German population. Actually, as Herbert Feis has since shown, this collaboration took place only because the West could not prevent these expulsions and wished at least to ensure a more orderly transfer of those who came to the British and American zones of occupation. Thus power proved the decisive factor, re-enforced since, as we should perhaps add, by the passage of time.

Ohio State University

ANDREAS DORPALEN

TUDOR ROYAL PROCLAMATIONS. Volume I, THE EARLY TUDORS (1485-1553). Edited by *Paul L. Hughes* and *James F. Larkin, C.S.V.* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xlvii, 642. \$17.50.) Every student of Tudor history has at some time found himself using Robert Steele's *Bibliography of Royal Proclamations*, and he must surely have wished that the complete texts were available. With the quite prodigious labors of Professors Hughes and Larkin, half the task of producing a definitive edition of the Tudor proclamations has been completed. When we consider that the proclamations issued between 1485 and 1553 alone number nearly four hundred, we get some idea of the amount of new material contained in this book. To the actual proclamations, the editors have added a brief introduction, the texts of the relevant acts of Henry VIII, a substantial glossary, a bibliography, and exhaustive indexes. Thus the greatest of the sources for a final study of the proclamation, its definition, and its place in the Tudor structure of government is at last available, as is much material on Tudor finance, social history, and the like. Having said so much, it is necessary to point out certain difficulties that arise in the use of the book. The editors observe strictly their rule that only royal proclamations are to be included. In the present volume this makes little difference since Steele lists no more than two issued by the Privy Council alone. Under Elizabeth, however, the Privy Council issued many more, and any study of the role of the proclamation must surely take these into account. One may only hope that the editors will decide to include them. Moreover, Steele included in his bibliography proclamations whose existence is known but whose text has vanished. Thus, Steele remains a necessary supplement to the present work, though it is only fair to mention that Hughes and Larkin have found proclamations unknown to Steele. The editing, moreover, raises certain questions. The text is modernized, not only in spelling but in punctuation and paragraphing. The editors,

in their introduction, show that most of the proclamations follow a set form; in their text they have introduced paragraphing according to their analysis. The result is a little misleading in that it makes the proclamations appear more orderly than a reading of the original might indicate, and the altered punctuation (which, on occasions, divides sentences) furthers the illusion. The modernization is also, presumably, responsible for a few, negligible, misreadings. And, although the bibliographical information that precedes each proclamation is usually a model of completeness, on some occasions the appearance of a proclamation in Richard Grafton's collection of those of the first three years of Edward VI (1550) is omitted (and is not number 302 printed from Grafton rather than from the text indicated?). Such reservations would not be worth mentioning did I not find this book invaluable. It is only because every library will surely purchase the volume, and because every historian of the period will use it, that I feel a muted caveat necessary. Nonetheless, for every breath of warning, there should be ten of praise, gratitude, and benediction.

University of Washington

F. J. LEVY

WARDENS' ACCOUNTS OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF FOUNDERS OF THE CITY OF LONDON, 1497-1681. Transcribed, calendared and edited by *Guy Parsloe*. (London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1964. Pp. lviii, 491. \$16.80.) Though one of the lesser of the livery companies, the Founders have had an interesting, not to say fascinating, history. They concerned themselves with brass and copper founding and aimed, with indifferent success, at gaining control over the whole industry as far as London was concerned. The wardens' accounts, beautifully edited here by Guy Parsloe, give a wealth of information spread over nearly two centuries. Of course, the material reveals chiefly the development of the company itself, which was fairly typical of its kind. Included are details about membership, the increasingly sharp division between livery and yeomanry, the company dinners, the religious St. Clement's Brotherhood (from which perhaps the company originated), the achievement of a royal charter in 1614, and the problems, especially connected with the assize of weights, of policing an industry. From this rich lode the student can take out material for many other purposes illustrating various aspects of London social and economic life. He should be warned, however, against the danger of being enticed into a miscellaneous and random search. He can follow a vein of data about prices, or another about diet. Another vein to follow is that of "the Company's poor," who profited, in effect, from an early form of group insurance. Creeping capitalism reveals itself in many ways. Wardens and former wardens assumed the title "Mr." A disallowed contract ("a certayne falce conclucon") shows a member of the yeomanry promising to pay Edward Collyngwood (of the livery) 4*d.* a week for having a certain Robert Tomson made an apprentice. There is also material illuminating public finance in the time of the first two Stuarts and, incidentally, on the plantations of Ulster.

Thetford Center, Vermont

CHESTER H. KIRBY

THOMAS STAPLETON AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION. By *Marvin R. O'Connell*. [Yale Publications in Religion, Number 9.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 221. \$6.00.) Thomas Stapleton, the sixteenth-century Catholic controversialist, characterized the Protestant reformers as "a few apostate friars and monks" spawned by "grandsire Luther and the heavenly conjunction of him and a nun together." To this Elizabethan exile the intellectual climate of the Counter Reformation was one in which the forces of truth and error were locked in

mortal combat. Stapleton, who was born in 1535 and elected fellow of New College, Oxford, during the last year of Edward VI, stood on the threshold of a promising career when the death of Mary brought Elizabeth to the throne. He fled to the Low Countries in 1559, and, except for a brief visit three years later, never again saw his native land. Life in exile was less difficult for Stapleton than for many of his fellow countrymen, for his learning brought him first a professorship at Douay and later the prestigious chair of Scripture at Louvain. From abroad he debated with the Anglicans, denounced the Act of Supremacy "as a flat denial of all spiritual jurisdiction to the bishops," and ridiculed the "heap of follies and lies" with which Robert Horne defended the act. Yet Stapleton was more than a vile-tongued propagandist for the Church of Rome. Too much of a scholar and theologian to allow the polemicist to get the better of him, Stapleton recognized that Luther's doctrine of justification was the central issue in the Reformation and turned to the solid rock of Aquinas to expose the errors of his protagonists. Stapleton used Scripture and the Church fathers as well as the Scholastics to restate the Catholic doctrine that "as far as the human soul is concerned, a twofold change is effected, the remission of sin and the concomitant infusion of grace." By drawing widely upon Stapleton's works and secondary sources, Father O'Connell has provided the first systematic study of Stapleton's critique of Protestantism and has clearly demonstrated why he stood in the forefront of Elizabethan Catholic thinkers. The author unfortunately consulted no manuscripts with the result that the events of Stapleton's life and his relations with other Catholics receive scanty treatment. Archival research may in fact yield little of value for a man who fought solely with the pen, but until such an effort is made, we cannot assume that the last word has been said. Nonetheless, O'Connell presents an excellent analysis of Stapleton's work in terms that are understandable to the nontheologian and writes in an ecumenical spirit that his subject could scarcely have comprehended.

Kent State University

BARRETT L. BEER

PAPIST PAMPHLETEERS: THE ALLEN-PERSONS PARTY AND THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, 1572-1615. By Thomas H. Clancy, S. J. [Jesuit Studies.] (Chicago: Loyola University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 256. \$6.00.) The radical political ideas advanced between 1572 and 1615 by those exiled English Catholics led by William Allen and Robert Persons, like similar ideas advanced in earlier decades by certain Calvinists, were influential in their own day and dealt with problems that continue to recur. They consequently deserve the thoughtful and objective study they receive in this monograph. Father Clancy gathered material for this book by reading the relevant pamphlets, by philological study of key words that occur in them, and by limited archival research, particularly in London, upon the circumstances of their publication. He presents his findings in a highly analytical framework, which includes sections on the exiles' reactions to the problems posed in turn by the development of contemporary English policy, the succession to Elizabeth, the conflicts between allegiance to crown and allegiance to pope, persecution and toleration, and the growth of the "political atheist" or "politique" point of view. He places each section of his analysis in the appropriate political and polemical context. It would be difficult to make a study of this length on this subject definitive, and some may find this one a bit schematic. Allen's *Defense of English Catholics* of 1584, for example, does not really fit the category of theories justifying only the pope's right to use power indirectly in temporal affairs since Allen's seventh chapter also defends the pope's right to use power directly in temporal affairs, as against the Turks or in Ireland. And to describe completely the polemical context in which this particular pamphlet appeared, the author would have had to add some consideration of Thomas Bilson's lengthy refutation of it. To ask for additions of this

sort may be to ask for more than the author planned to give us. His intention was to prepare "a path rather than a map," and he has blazed a tempting one.

State University of Iowa

ROBERT M. KINGDON

CAPTAIN STEELE: THE EARLY CAREER OF RICHARD STEELE. By *Calhoun Winton*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 225. \$5.95.) Mr. Winton tells at length the story of the life of Richard Steele from birth through army service, the *London Gazette*, *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, *The Guardian*, and *The Englishman* to the death of Queen Anne. (He does not give us much of the *Gazette*.) He is at his best and uses most new material in his account of Steele's family and connections in Ireland. Afterward, the piety of the literary scholar does not conceal Steele's personality: the sentimentality, moral inconsistency, paucity of ideas, inattention to his affairs, and quarrels with his friends. Whether or not these are Irish characteristics, they correspond to the stereotype of the minor Irishman of letters that made it so difficult for Edmund Burke, for instance, to obtain a respectful hearing. Winton avoids a comparison with the stereotype that would make his subject so nearly a buffoon, but his honesty in the use of evidence enables the reader to reach an independent conclusion. Winton's style is easy, his organization intelligible, and his research thorough. He undertook to present Steele in relation to the political scene of his time and in so doing contributed much information on Steele. It is perhaps inevitable that he has added little to our understanding of English political history, for Steele himself oversimplified it. Thus the political story does not show a sure grip, although it is based on such good modern work as that of Plumb, Walcott, and Robbins. The author contradicts himself, for instance, in saying that Steele attacked Catholicism because "it threatened men's civil liberties." In fact he has shown that Steele pursued the partisan advantage of the Whigs over the Tories in these attacks; Steele, no doubt, rationalized them later as based on principle.

Olivet College

GEORGE HILTON JONES

THE LUNAR SOCIETY OF BIRMINGHAM: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF PROVINCIAL SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *Robert E. Schofield*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. x, 491. \$11.20.) In this book, Professor Schofield provides us with considerable information about those harbingers of the Industrial Revolution who constituted the Lunar Society of Birmingham. The society, named for the lunar dating of its meetings, counted among its fourteen members Matthew Boulton, James Watt, Erasmus Darwin, Josiah Wedgwood, William Withering, and Joseph Priestley, men who ranged over almost every field of science in the course of the society's short life. Little real science was ever done by the society, however, despite Priestley's association with the group during its most creative period, 1781-1791. The author himself tells us that "in the Society's cooperative activities in chemistry we find a major failure"; in fact, the society "played a major role in what can only be described as the tragedy of Priestley's scientific career": his stubborn adherence to the phlogiston theory. Always the real interest of its members lay elsewhere, in this instance in industrial chemistry. With their minimum reliance on theory and maximum interest in profit, they worked best at industrial research. Schofield is correct in attaching importance to that activity, but he is mistaken in claiming it for science. *The Lunar Society* is thick with detail about the industrial class in eighteenth-century England that was to come to power with the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832; we learn a number of interesting facts, carefully documented, about the connections between politics, industry, and technology. But the book is over-long with such detail. It leaves the reader with more knowledge of the social climate of Birmingham than of its scientific climate of opinion, mirroring (perhaps un-

consciously) the relative importance the author seems to attach to the two subjects. This is not the best way to write a social history of science. A more careful definition of the subject, a more rigorous selection, and more thoughtful organization of the material would greatly have improved the book. Schofield has made a valuable contribution to a relatively new field of historical scholarship, but as he himself points out, much work remains to be done.

Rice University

LEONARD M. MARSACK

HENRY THORNTON OF CLAPHAM, 1760-1815. By *Standish Meacham*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 206. \$4.95.) The Clapham Evangelicals have never been surpassed in sincere piety and earnest good works. They rioted in what one of them called "religious dissipation." Henry Thornton was the perfect exemplar of the second generation of this worthy sect. A shrewd and successful banker, he gave a high proportion of his annual income to charity. He was a leading spirit in the early development of the free colony of Sierra Leone, and he supported the crusade to abolish the slave trade. The private morals of his clerks engaged his most serious attention. "I feel that it is necessary," he noted in his diary, "to be secretly very serious and self-denying and sincere in order to obtain courage to direct, instruct or reprove others." His courage never failed him. He wrote a prodigious number of family prayers, commentaries on the Bible, and magazine articles as guides to the true Christian life. One wonders where he found time to serve on parliamentary committees, compose tracts on currency and commerce, and manage his bank. Standish Meacham bases this graceful memoir upon Thornton's printed works and upon private family papers in the possession of E. M. Forster, Thornton's great-grandson. The book is a judicious and sympathetic treatment of the man and the sect. Meacham stresses the point that the harshness in the Evangelicals' social conservatism was quite compatible with their genuinely tender concern for the souls of the downtrodden. Society was ordained by God, they believed, and each must accept his allotted station without complaint. "Thornton gave willingly to help the poor," the author writes, "but gave many times as much to turn them into Christians." His creed was that all men might attain salvation through love of God and knowledge of His ways, which could be learned from the gospel without any of the paraphernalia of the church. He thus conceived it to be his first obligation to spread this message and so to distribute the greatest of blessings, eternal bliss. A stern conscience and strong sense of duty, Meacham concludes, were the Evangelicals' legacy to Victorian England.

Yale University

ARCHIBALD S. FOORD

FREE TRADE IN BOOKS: A STUDY OF THE LONDON BOOK TRADE SINCE 1800. By *James J. Barnes*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 198. \$4.80.) Books are in a special category on the market, and the problems arising in the sale of books are different from those of merchandising most commodities. The unique features of the book trade, specifically that of London during the last century and a half, are illuminated in this excellent study. That some agreements among booksellers and publishers were essential to the maintenance of standards was recognized throughout this period, but how those agreements could be made compatible with the equally necessary freedom to venture any book was the question. The author centers his historical analysis on four decisive events: in 1829, 1852, 1899, and 1962. The London booksellers, accustomed to concerted action for their mutual interests, drew up in 1829 regulations designed to prevent the sale of books below the published price. These regulations, allowing for discounts only under stated conditions, were supported by the publishers' refusal to supply their works at wholesale prices to disobedient traders. The Booksellers' Association which enforced these regulations came under

attack as monopolistic. Those who defiantly engaged in underselling were backed by ardent free traders and authors, including Dickens, Macaulay, Gladstone, Carlyle, Mill, and Cobden, and a committee of the association was induced to submit the whole question to arbitrators. When their decision, rendered by Lord Campbell in 1852, criticized the regulations as "harmful and vexatious," the era of free trade in books began. This period ended in 1899 with the approval of the organizations of booksellers, publishers, and authors to the Net Book Agreement. This effort at self-regulation had to be amended to accord with new legislation, but in 1962 the judgment of the Restrictive Practices Court upheld the Net Book Agreement and "reinforced the belief of booksellers and publishers that their trade is unique." Mr. Barnes has lucidly elaborated on these and other important aspects of the book trade, particularly as revealed in the mid-nineteenth century.

University of Rochester

WILLSON H. COATES

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION IN ENGLISH POLITICS, 1820 TO 1830. By G. I. T. Machin. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 227. \$5.60.) Catholic emancipation was perhaps the most pressing, and certainly the most annoying, political issue of the 1820's. Machin's excellent monograph is a careful and thorough survey of this issue. What is original about his book is its treatment of the Catholic issue in the light of our recent understanding of the party structure (or rather the lack of party structure) of the early nineteenth century. The roles of factions and individuals are properly appreciated, as is the operation of the "open" system which allowed the ministry to be neutral on the issue. At the same time Machin is aware of the role of public opinion, which was anti-Catholic but passive. His chapter on the "no-popery" agitation of 1828-1829 is admirable. In general it is difficult to resist Machin's conclusions. The "open" system inhibited effective action by the pro-Catholic leaders; the deadlock was broken only by the effective external pressure of the Catholic Association in Ireland; Wellington acted throughout as a practical politician and conceded emancipation "to prevent democratic upheaval, to preserve the Union, and to remove the threat to tory government"; the measure was passed by the politicians against the wishes of public opinion; efforts to promote an anti-Catholic agitation failed because of popular apathy and the unwillingness of the "ultras" to proceed to radical measures; the passage of emancipation was not a victory for the ideal of toleration but a practical political expedient, which, however, split the Tory party and contributed to Wellington's defeat. Machin, lecturer in history at the University of Singapore, has condensed this book from his doctoral thesis. One wishes it were less condensed. The early history of the Catholic issue deserves a more expanded treatment. The weakest point of the book is the analysis of the election of 1830, in which the Protestant reaction may have played a greater role than Machin allows; he should have given this election the same careful study which he gave to that of 1826. Machin properly refrains from speculating on the wider significance of the Catholic issue, but it should be remarked that this question received an undue amount of public attention at a time when basic social and economic issues tended to be ignored. Perhaps religion (or rather religious prejudice) did serve as the opiate of the people!

University of Minnesota

JOSEF L. ALTHOLZ

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE: A BIOGRAPHY. Volume II, 1857-1894. By *Waldo Hilary Dunn*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xvii, 264-652. \$8.80.) This volume completes Professor Dunn's biography of James Anthony Froude, the first volume of which was reviewed earlier (*AHR*, LXVII [Apr. 1962], 699). The author chose to divide his work at that point in Froude's life where his struggle to

find a vocation had ended and the historian of the sixteenth century had emerged. The concluding volume of Dunn's work thus becomes a resounding success story, marred only perhaps by the distress and anxiety incurred by Froude in loyally performing his duty as Carlyle's literary executor. The great *History of England from the Fall of Cardinal Wolsey to the Spanish Armada* made its majestic way through the years 1856-1870, ending as twelve volumes, a library in itself, but only a part of Froude's tireless literary activity. He also served as editor of *Fraser's*, 1860-1874. He toured South Africa to gather firsthand information for Disraeli's government. He visited Australia and the British West Indies, preaching the new gospel of imperial unity. And finally he crowned his career with the Regius Professorship of History at his old university, where almost a half century earlier his first book had been publicly burned, and where his immediate predecessor in the chair of history had been his old enemy, Freeman. Dunn devotes a chapter to Freeman, "the Froude-Slayer," which is likely to catch the attention of historians. To those of us who deplore the manners of some reviewers of the present day, it may come as a gratifying surprise to find that nineteenth-century manners could be as bad, if not worse. Some notion of the animus that drove Freeman to attack Froude may be obtained from the marginalia of Freeman's copies of Froude's *England*: "May I live to embowel James Anthony Froude"; "the vilest brute that ever wrote a book"; "an intellectual vagabond"; "Beast." It was a remarkable tribute to Froude's composure and self-confidence—which historians today might keep in mind—that Freeman's vendetta failed to ruffle him. What historians may miss in this otherwise admirable and meticulous account of Froude's life is an analysis of his ideas and his skill as a historian. Perhaps this is too much to ask of Dunn, whose chief aim has been to collect and set out the evidence, but it might well be worth considering. Froude was a Conservative, but what sort was he? Was he closer to Burke than to Sir Henry Maine? His *History* is always referred to as a classic, but what do we admire in it? Great historians are said to be great because they have style, but what is this mysterious quality? Perhaps the professional student of English, like Dunn, could have illuminated this perplexing subject.

Johns Hopkins University

DAVID SPRING

A HISTORY OF BRITISH TRADE UNIONS SINCE 1889. Volume I, 1889-1910. By H. A. Clegg et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964. Pp. ix, 514. \$8.80.) Historians of British labor have long looked forward to this work, now beginning to appear after seven years' research by a team of respected authors. Often in such cases the reviewers' knives are especially honed for the occasion; the temptation to cry "Anti-climax!" is very great. When the subject is a general history of trade-unions, it is nearly irresistible, since the dead weight of trade-union titles, plus the need, in any comprehensive account, to follow the fortunes of some rather obscure negotiations, puts readability in any normal sense quite out of the question. H. A. Clegg, Alan Fox, and A. F. Thompson have done what they could to surmount these difficulties. Although they have been uncompromising in their drive for comprehensiveness, they pause now and then for brief but thoughtful summarizing sections. The final chapter, "Growth and Change, 1889-1910," while no capsule outline of the book, is a helpful survey of the more important general developments. Whether even the most scholarly reader will herein learn more than he wishes to know about the careers of the South Staffordshire Bolt and Nut Trade Wages Board or the Bradford Machine Woolcombers' Association may be left to individual determination. What is more important to note is that the authors themselves are never lost in their jungle of sometimes ephemeral organizations. This is a solid work of reference, with some chapters (particularly those dealing with politics) that will be ignored by general historians of Britain only at their peril. It is unfortunate, therefore, that there is no bibliography, and worse yet,

that the authors are addicted to that bane of all reference hunters, *op. cit.*, when the original citation may be distant by several chapters. Clegg, Fox, and Thompson are of the modern coolheaded school sometimes described by labor historians as "un-committed"; they try hard for objectivity, and achieve it to a notable degree, at the expense of removing all trace of that sense of missionary sympathy with their subject that was once the hallmark of British labor history. At many points, and not least in the opening chapter, "The Trade Union Movement before 1889," they criticize earlier authorities, including Sidney and Beatrice Webb and G. D. H. Cole. This is usually done with fairness, magnanimity, and a firm grasp of recent contributions to knowledge, many of them unpublished doctoral theses. Raymond Postgate's *Builders' History* (1923) receives the sharpest blows, although its literary quality is acknowledged. The general effect is to make the story of trade-union development even more complex than it has hitherto appeared, by undermining many convenient generalizations, such as that the "new unions" of 1889-1892 were all militant organizations of unskilled and badly paid workers. There are positive themes, too; the considerable development of collective bargaining, even before 1900, receives much attention, as does the frequency with which management and trade-union leaders shared common interests in opposition to the interests, real or imagined, of the rank and file of organized labor. The volume ends, of course, on the very brink of the most tumultuous period of labor unrest in British labor history. The strike wave of 1911-1912 is left for the next volume of this important, sometimes aggravating, but on the whole impressive work.

Stanford University

RICHARD W. LYMAN

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume XIII, TURKEY, FEBRUARY-DECEMBER 1920; ARABIA, SYRIA, AND PALESTINE, FEBRUARY 1920-JANUARY 1921; PERSIA, JANUARY 1920-MARCH 1921. Edited by Rohan Butler and J. P. T. Bury. Assisted by M. E. Lambert. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1963. Pp. lxxxiii, 746. \$16.00 postpaid.) Anyone dealing with Middle and Near Eastern politics between the wars will find essential material in this volume. It contains the story of England's diplomatic reverses in Turkey and Persia, its difficulties with the Arab rulers, and its attempt to establish a government in Palestine in accordance with the principles of the Balfour Declaration. The challenge to British influence came both from the rise of nationalistic opposition forces in Turkey and Persia and from the collapse of the wartime alliances. Throughout the area, France and Italy pursued independent policies hostile to British interests. American oil companies tried to gain a foothold in Persia. The Bolshevik advances in Armenia and Central Asia helped transform the diplomatic situation at Constantinople and at Tehran. The British could only have maintained their position through a more extensive military and financial program than the cabinet would sanction. By the beginning of 1921 the general outlook was "obscure and unsatisfactory." These documents, though extremely important, tell only a part of the whole story. Such key points as the conflict between British promises to the Zionists and King Feisal cannot be settled without reference to earlier unpublished correspondence. Even within the time covered omissions arise from the nature of the documents selected. It is known from other sources that the British military authorities in Persia played a decisive role. Yet with one important exception little is said about their activities as almost nothing was reported back to the British minister at Tehran. To take a more general example, one can trace the decline of Lord Curzon's authority and his loss of control in every section of the volume, but one is given only brief hints, in the dispatches and in the few highly revealing minutes that the editors have included, of the cabinet divisions and conflicting lines of policy that provide the background for this failure of leadership. What is given is vital for

historians, but more information is needed to document the breakdown of a policy that was patterned on past circumstances rather than on future possibilities.

Cambridge, England

ZARA S. STEINER

THE COMMONWEALTH AND SUEZ: A DOCUMENTARY SURVEY. Selected, edited, and with commentaries by *James Eayrs*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 483. \$10.10.) In 130 pages of commentary and 340 pages of documents Professor Eayrs has provided a most valuable assessment of the reaction of the Commonwealth to the Suez crisis of 1956-1957. Documents are drawn largely from public statements of governments and speeches of prime ministers and foreign ministers, although there is also a judicious selection of comment from opposition spokesmen. The commentary, which prefaces each chronological phase of the Suez crisis, both supports and amplifies the documentary record. As is the case with all of Eayrs's writing, it is entertaining, forceful, and pertinent. *The Commonwealth and Suez*, necessarily limited by its design and by the type of material available for publication at this time, does not purport to be a comprehensive record of the Suez affair. Within its limitations, however, the volume could hardly be improved upon. A more fitting title for the book might be "Suez and the Commonwealth." The most important section in it is Part V, entitled "Commonwealth Reckonings," in which the editor examines the impact of Suez on the external policies of the various Commonwealth nations. Here some striking conclusions emerge. For Great Britain the experience of Suez strengthened earlier suspicions of the United Nations. For South Africa there was implanted a deep disquiet regarding possible extensions of the idea of a UN police force. For Australia Suez left a heightened awareness of an exposed position on the flank of Asia, beside neighbors who had been in violent disagreement with Australia's support of Britain during the crisis. For India there was a re-examination of the value of Commonwealth membership, the decision to remain in the association justified more by the prospect of influence than by the negative arguments put forward by Prime Minister Nehru at the time. For Canada Suez revealed what Eayrs calls "a proprietary concern" for the Commonwealth as an institution, an attitude that in 1956 was unique among Commonwealth members. The value of the Commonwealth as a link between Western and Asian nations was very much in the mind of the Canadian government in the initiatives it took at the UN in 1956. Eayrs hints that the Canadian conception of the Commonwealth, as expressed in the Suez crisis, pointed the way to the collective stand taken over South Africa at the momentous conference of 1961.

Carleton University

D. M. L. FARR

ÉPISTRES & ÉVANGILES POUR LES CINQUANTE & DEUX SEPMAINES DE L'AN: FAC-SIMILÉ DE LA PREMIÈRE ÉDITION SIMON DU BOIS. By *Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples et al.* With an introduction, bibliographical note, and appendixes by *M. A. Screech*. [Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, Number 63.] (Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1964. Pp. 51 +.) Lefèvre's *Épîtres et Évangiles* (1525) is a collection of pericopes, brief scriptural passages read during Mass, each followed by a simple hortatory paragraph of explanation. Lefèvre hoped his book would help educate the parish clergy, improve preaching, and evangelize the laity—bring to every man, as he wrote to Farel in 1524, "the word of God in the language he understands," his contribution to the diocesan reform of his patron Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux. The Meaux experiment, profoundly evangelical, yet conducted within the traditional institutional and sacramental structure of the Church, has long interested students of the French Reformation. Lefèvre's excessively rare book, now conveniently available in Dr. Screech's facsimile edition, supplies the detailed contemporary evidence indispensable for understanding

the character, quality, and purposes of the Meaux reformers. Screech, Reader in French, University College, London, has chosen to reproduce the oldest surviving edition, that published in Paris by Simon du Bois, probably in 1525 (BM, 3025.a.6). His first appendix studies additions to the original text made anonymously for the editions of Pierre de Vingle and Étienne Dolet; in the second he prints the text of the condemnation of the book by the Sorbonne (November 6, 1525). Part I is a short essay on the content and significance of Lefèvre's book; Part II of the introduction reviews the editions. The work is a model of sympathetic perception.

Columbia University

EUGENE F. RICE, JR.

GEORGES CUVIER, ZOOLOGIST: A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF EVOLUTION THEORY. By *William Coleman*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 212. \$4.75.) Based solidly on extensive primary sources, this concise and skillfully constructed book hews closely to its announced purpose of outlining the major features of Cuvier's zoological theory and practice, with special reference to their bearing on the idea of the transmutation of species. In successive chapters the author reviews the main events of Cuvier's career, his general view of nature, his contributions to comparative anatomy, zoological taxonomy, geology, and vertebrate paleontology, and his influence on the development of evolutionary ideas. The style is straightforward and generally clear, although the reader is occasionally confused by such double negatives as: "Buffon . . . denied not only the utility of animal classification but the impossibility of such creations." Professor Coleman endeavors to analyze as well as to describe Cuvier's position and to assess the sources of Cuvier's conservatism with respect to geological and zoological issues. One sees that religious piety was not the main factor in Cuvier's rejection of geological uniformitarianism and the transmutation hypothesis. More important were scientific caution, the logical implications of the "type concept," and a constitutional inability to accept the idea of change in nature. "Cuvier's advocacy of geological catastrophism," writes Coleman, "was perhaps his greatest violation of contemporary scientific knowledge." But was the issue of catastrophism versus uniformitarianism one of scientific knowledge? Was it not rather a choice between two views of nature, one portraying nature as a law-bound system of matter in motion operating uniformly throughout space and time, the other depicting it as a framework of rationally contrived structures fitted as a stage for sentient and rational life? Buffon opted decisively for the dynamic view of nature, Cuvier and Linnaeus for the static view. Cuvier was not, as Coleman says, "the spiritual disciple of both Linnaeus and Buffon." He was a striking example of the kind of scientist who performs brilliantly within an accepted framework of ideas but who reacts with anxious hostility to facts and theories that threaten to subvert traditional concepts. Generally speaking, however, the author has given us a careful and perceptive study of a key figure in modern biology.

University of Kansas

JOHN C. GREENE

DE DISCUSSIE OVER DE 'CONSTITUTION CIVILE DU CLERGÉ' (1790): OPINIEGESCHIEDENIS VAN EEN CONFLICT. By *Jan Haak*. (Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 1964. Pp. iii, 257.) This detailed account of the debates about church and state in the second year of the French Revolution is based on an exhaustive search through the files of the press. The journals were not restricted during those months, and a wide range of opinions can be gathered. The author's main concern is with the specific arguments presented on both sides. The underlying issue—the relation between religion and the nation—is a perennial one, and much of the discussion could be contemporary. Both sides were conscious of public opinion, and the rhetoric was sometimes confusing. Thus the "right," on occasion, might appeal to the will of the majority (in support of

Catholicism as a state religion) or praise scientific agriculture (in which some country priests were interested). The "left" called on the ancient traditions of the Church and quoted Scripture and the Church fathers (to show that bishops should be elected). Both sides, in general, assumed that a united society should have one religion; the question was who should dictate its form. There were differences in emphasis within both groups as well as more basic differences between them. As it turned out, the rapidly increasing tempo of the Revolution was soon to make the "radical" proposals of 1790 seem moderate. The author, as is perhaps proper in a doctoral thesis, severely limits his topic. There is no attempt to synthesize, evaluate, or place the discussion in a wider context. It is to be hoped that he may later do this. Meanwhile, what we have here is an interesting compilation.

Calvin College

DIRK JELLEMA

ELBEUF DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD: HISTORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE. By *Jeffry Kaplow*. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LXXXI (1963), Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. 278. \$6.50.) In this extremely thorough study of a Norman town (population in 1790 about six or seven thousand) almost wholly devoted to the woolen textile industry, Dr. Kaplow goes back in time to the beginning of the eighteenth century and forward to 1815, a generous but quite justifiable interpretation of "revolutionary period." He has gone directly to the archival sources, supplemented by the work of local historians. He has provided for the historian of wider aspects of the French Revolution a fine quarry of materials on population, the technical and business aspects of woolen manufacture, the political and social structures of Elbeuf under the *ancien régime*, the changes in these structures under the various governments from 1789 to 1815, and, especially in his Chapter v, entitled "Politics and the Revolution in Elbeuf," a great many interesting details of daily life in the town. The statistics, of which there are many, are well presented and do not oversimplify. Notably there is a brief appendix, based on lists of the most highly taxed individuals in each commune and drawn up in 1812, which Kaplow uses to illuminate the complex problem of social mobility in the period he has studied. He finds a good deal of such mobility in the upper and middle bourgeoisie, but little mobility upward at any time from "wage earners and the lower bourgeoisie." Kaplow has by no means avoided the task of interpreting and generalizing from all this abundant source material. He sees the Revolution in Elbeuf as essentially the triumph of the bourgeoisie, more particularly the upper bourgeoisie, who in Elbeuf were the men who owned and ran the woolen industry, still even at the end of the period not yet truly concentrated under factory roofs, but by 1815 already exhibiting the Marxist structure of capitalist manufacturers and proletarian workers. The brief months of 1793 and 1794 which in Paris and other great cities saw a kind of anticipation of a true proletarian revolution saw nothing of the kind in Elbeuf, for the real power remained—and even before the ninth Thermidor actually increased—as a monopoly of the upper bourgeoisie. Clearly Elbeuf was one of those numerous provincial centers where the Revolution hardly lived up to its reputation. Kaplow quotes the remark of Prefect Beugnot in the year VIII, that the Elbeuviens "aiment beaucoup l'autorité qui protège, et le gouvernement existant est, par cela même qu'il existe, celui qu'ils préfèrent." It is true that he had previously cited liberally from the records of the *société populaire* and other sources most lively verbal exhortations and protestations fully à la hauteur des circonstances révolutionnaires. He had also stated firmly that he did not believe this verbal behavior evidence of hypocrisy. But he does not really try to explain it. For any attempted explanation would involve some study of "human nature," a study not very effectively done by writers in the

tradition of the economic interpretation of history, and indeed disavowed by Kaplow in his preface.

Harvard University

CRANE BRINTON

book
A MILITARY HISTORY AND ATLAS OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS. Prepared by Vincent J. Esposito and John Robert Elting. Compiled for the Department of Military Art and Engineering, the United States Military Academy. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964. Pp. unnumbered, 169 maps. \$19.95.) Every schoolboy knows that Napoleon was one of the great captains of history, but few except the experts know much more about his military campaigns than the names of the great battles. And even the student of the Napoleonic period is likely to pay much more attention to the Emperor's political activities than to his military career. But, for the professional soldier, the study of Napoleon's campaigns has long constituted a basic part of his training. At West Point, where military education was from the start modeled on the French experience, Napoleon's battles and campaigns have constituted an important part of the cadets' instruction since the days of Sylvanus Thayer and Dennis Hart Mahan. Even today it forms almost one-third of the yearlong military history course required of every Senior. The present volume is an outgrowth of instruction in this course over the years. The maps represent the work of a generation of engineer officers assigned at one time or another as instructors, and other materials were supplied by the recently retired head of the Department of Military Art and Engineering, General Esposito, and his research associate, Colonel Elting. Like its predecessor volume, *The West Point Atlas of American Wars* (2 vols., 1959), the *Napoleonic Wars* combines text and maps within a fixed format—a map of a battle on one page and an explanatory text on the facing page. The two works are similar in conception, format, and presentation, but the present volume is somewhat more ambitious and claims to be not only an atlas but also a military history. The claim is unjustified, for the text, except for a general introduction and some reference material, is concerned only with the maps that it illustrates. To assert that the work is a military history of the Napoleonic Wars is to equate military history with narrow campaign and battle studies rather than with the role of war and force in society, an approach that is characteristic of more recent scholarly work in the field. The format of the volume imposes physical limitations that place severe restriction on the narrative. It tends to flatten and compress Napoleon's campaigns, giving equal treatment to all battles regardless of their significance. Moreover, limiting the text to the maps results in a narrow treatment focused on battles. The fact is that, despite its title, the volume is essentially an atlas, and the text, like the captions in a picture history, is subordinate to the material it illustrates. Still, the volume has much to recommend it. The battle narratives present in concise form as clear and accurate an account as one could want and provide an excellent reference work for students of the Napoleonic Wars. The maps, which are the most important part of the work, are superb. There are 169 color plates, many of them with 2 or more maps. They are drawn with such care and clarity that for those who read military maps the text is hardly necessary. They alone make the book worth the high price. The text is useful, though limited, and is easily matched and surpassed by other material available to the scholar, but the maps provide a valuable addition to the literature on the Napoleonic Wars.

Dartmouth College

LOUIS MORTON

LA GARDE NATIONALE, 1814-1871. By Louis Girard. [Civilisations d'hier et d'aujourd'hui.] (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1964. Pp. 388.) Fully aware that the history of the French National Guard could be told in terms of the social activities of its members, Professor Girard has preferred to emphasize the organizational development,

type of membership, goals, functions, and exploits of the guard from 1814 to 1871. Other authors have necessarily touched on these subjects in analyzing such events as the Restoration, the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848, or the Commune of 1871. Girard has been the first, however, to produce a first-rate monograph of this institution. Readers and writers of political and military history will be especially intrigued by the author's apt handling of the multiple and often contradictory goals of the National Guard: to preserve the integrity of the French nation against foreign enemies; to protect the rights and property of Frenchmen against domestic threats; to ensure the independence or autonomy of the guard against absorption by the army, dictation by the government, or disruption by the unruly masses. Girard lays bare the guard's recurrent problem of determining its goal in the sequence of events from 1814 to 1871. Under what circumstances, for example, would the guard march to save France from the invader and leave the *boutiques* in danger of being pillaged by a restive proletariat? Girard exhaustively exploited the Paris archives and astutely sampled the provincial ones. The use of memoirs, journals, parliamentary records, and novels enriches his work. Incorporation of the "documentation" in his narrative somewhat compensates for the absence of footnotes. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between proper literary use of ellipsis and the error of "incomplete sentences." To me, the author's style is marred by too frequent lapses of this nature, but this minor fault is petty nagging in an otherwise felicitous marriage of sound fact and perceptive interpretation.

Hunter College
DONALD J. HARVEY

SEEDS OF DISCORD: DE GAULLE, FREE FRANCE, AND THE ALLIES. By Dorothy Shipley White. (Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 471. \$7.50.) Mrs. White's subject is the Gaullist movement in its formative years in London (1940-1942) and the tensions that marked its relations with the American and British governments. She believes that "many of the origins of [De Gaulle's] achievements and his failures are . . . to be found in these early years of struggle. . .," and that the painful consequences of those early misunderstandings still affect Franco-American and Franco-British relations. Her account is mildly favorable to the Free French and rather consistently critical of the State Department. This is a curious kind of book, belonging somewhere between history and journalism, and between professional and amateur canons of scholarship. The text is buttressed by more than eighty pages of backnotes that refer to extraordinarily disparate sources, ranging from a few OSS files to propaganda tracts, textbooks, and *Time* magazine. A handful of random interviews with participants seems to have yielded little information. Published memoirs, secondary works, contemporary newsmagazines, and press clippings (many of them from the "France Forever Papers," whose nature is never elucidated) provide the substructure of the story. These materials are used with an odd mixture of shrewdness and naïveté to fashion what the author calls a "mosaic." On the whole, her account is well informed, but it is marred by a considerable number of minor errors and is stronger on narrative than on analysis. Her technique often consists of setting contrary interpretations side by side and allowing the reader to make a choice (or choosing one by instinct). Even as narrative, the book is uneven; it luxuriates in rhetorical questions and descends at times to such phrases as "Then the big shots got into the act." White obviously enjoyed researching and writing this book, and many Francophiles will find it pleasant reading. It cannot, however, be called a very significant scholarly contribution.

Stanford University

GORDON WRIGHT

JOURNALS AND OTHER DOCUMENTS ON THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. Translated and edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. (New

York: Heritage Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 417. \$10.00.) The *Congresso dos Descobrimentos*, which took place in Lisbon in 1960, has brought about a revival of interest in the Journal of Columbus. The first work published in this connection was a revised edition of the Cecil Jane translation. In 1961 there appeared an excellent French version by the Renaissance scholar Alexandre Cioranescu, which is probably the best foreign translation to date. In 1962 Carlos Sanz published a facsimile reproduction of the Las Casas extract, together with a transcription of the text. And in 1963 S. E. Morison released his *Journals and Other Documents*, a magnificent volume, beautifully illustrated by Lima de Freitas, which includes the texts of all four voyages. For the last three voyages, Dr. Milton Anastos and Miss Luisa Nordio have done most of the translating; they should be given full credit for a work well done. The last document included in the present volume is Diego Mendes' account of the fourth voyage. A Portuguese by birth, Diego Mendes spent many years in England as a political refugee before going to Spain. Morison's main contribution is his version of the Journal of the first voyage, which he made with the help of the late J. D. M. Ford. The editing is somewhat careless: sentences are missing for December 16, 18, and January 13, and there are some puzzling errors in figures. On the whole, Morison's version is accurate, but it is by no means perfect. He translates "un palillo cargado descaramojos" as "a branch full of dog-roses," instead of "a stick loaded with barnacles." He thinks that "gonza avellanada" means "shrivelled quince" instead of "chufa." He translates "cola" as "neck," "debe de ser muy grande" as "should not be very big," "la mar era llena" as "the sea was smooth." On page 56 Morison justifies his translation for the entry of September 23 with the statement that he found the corresponding Spanish wording in Las Casas' *Historia*, but it is not there. Now that facsimile copies of the Journal are available in this country, someone ought to make a fresh translation, taking into account the Jane revised, Cioranescu and Morison versions, and also Julio Guillén's *Parla marinera*. This new translation, if carefully edited, might well be as good as any foreign version of the Journal can ever hope to be, for obscure passages will always remain unless the original text is found some day.

George Washington University

L.-A. VIGNERAS

EL "ANTIJOVIO" DE GONZALO JIMÉNEZ DE QUESADA Y LAS CONCEPCIONES DE REALIDAD Y VERDAD EN LA ÉPOCA DE LA CONTRAREFORMA Y DEL MANIERISMO. By Victor Frankl. Foreword by José Antonio Maravall. (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica. 1963. Pp. 767. 275 ptas.) Few will likely be willing to navigate 600 pages of text and 156 pages of notes (over 1,100) simply for a critique of an obscure and questionable attack on Paolo Giovio's *Historia sui temporis*. But Victor Frankl concedes (with apparent relish) Giovio's "objective" superiority, Quesada's unreliability as critic, even that Quesada was no "authentic historian." His concern is with Quesada's inner conflict between Renaissance empiricism and neomedieval spiritualism. The approach presents problems. Possible predecessors, exhaustively canvassed, are much too readily accepted: arcane sources, remote evidence, fragile argument. Many correlations are only vaguely similar. "Proof" of direct influence is limited to possibility, plausibility, and asserted probability. And Frankl's argument requires acceptance of Quesada as the mid-sixteenth-century analogue of Cervantes in both nature and caliber. For the reader unwilling to concede this, the book still has value for its examination of ideas about truth and reality and of the distortion of objective fact by unconformable attitudes, though derivations are unabashedly *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, conflicting ones are asserted, nonliterary influences ignored, and on this level, too, "comprehensiveness" gets in the way. Avidity for evidence leads to treating practical notions as philosophical abstractions, poetic piety as teleology. Neither medieval nor Renaissance thought was so monolithic as presented;

these select quotations do not constitute Thomism, and this wholly anti-Scholastic Renaissance ignores important scholarship. Among the works cited, specialists will inevitably disagree with some interpretations. Such things aside, much is commendable. The discussion of Mannerism, for example, is good (if one has not given up that concept and does not mind having it pushed back to Hellenistic times), with excellent definitions of the syndrome and the style. Perhaps most of all, whether or not one agrees with the interpretations and analyses, the extensive quotation (so excessive as argument) provides a desirable compilation of explicit and implicit views on these matters. For so long a book the prose is especially unfortunate. Organization is inconsistent and repetitive. The tone used toward Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, who edited the "Antijovio," is regrettable. And a contradiction pervades: in Frankl's hands almost every writer is both an intellectual lemming under the instant influence of any idea in sight and a self-contained totality of integrated concepts; obviously, if intellectual history is thus a sequence of synthetic moments, separate treatment of individual strands is false. One cannot doubt that this baroque inner tension derives from a simultaneous existence within the author of two completely incompatible concepts: one spiritual-generalizing-supernatural-Augustinian, the other empirical-particularizing-naturalistic-Machiavellian. Unless, of course, Mannerism is only inconsistency.

Tulane University

CHARLES H. CARTER

PORTUGALIAE MONVMENTA CARTOGRAPHICA. COMEMORAÇÕES DO V CENTENÁRIO DA MORTE DO INFANTE D. HENRIQUE. Volumes V and VI. By *Armando Cortesão* and *Avelino Teixeira da Mota*. (Lisbon: [Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenario da Morte do Infante D. Henrique.] 1960. Pp. xx, 187, 520-626 plates; xxix, 1, 109.) The original plan of the authors of this elaborate cartobibliographical series, as stated in the first volume, was to describe and illustrate the known contributions of Portuguese cartography from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century in four volumes. The discoveries of heretofore unknown maps together with an increased appreciation of the importance of many of those already known has caused the issuance of a fifth volume fully in keeping in both scholarship and superb format with the initial four, together with a sixth, smaller, over-all index volume. The first four volumes (see *AHR*, LXVIII [July 1963], 1125) and those noted here were issued on the occasion of the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Prince Henry the Navigator. The fifth volume contains primarily a study of Portuguese cartography of the latter half of the seventeenth century, supplemented by studies of several previously little-known maps of earlier centuries. Chief among these is the description and illustration of the earliest known example of Portuguese cartography, the Pedro Reinel Chart of about 1485, preserved at the *Archives Départementales de La Gironde* in Bordeaux. Seven specialized appendixes reproduce and discuss further examples of Portuguese cartography. The general index has been issued in a sixth smaller volume for more convenient use; included with it is a chronological list together with an "Addenda and Errata."

University of California, Santa Barbara

CHRISTIAN BRUN

LA VIE INTELLECTUELLE À NAMUR SOUS LE RÉGIME AUTRICHIEN. By *Th. Pisvin*. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, Series 4, Number 26.] (Louvain: Publications Universitaires de Louvain; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1963. Pp. xxxvi, 307. 300 fr. B.) Originally a dissertation, this study presents in masterful fashion the intellectual life of the people of Namur, a town strategically important as well as a provincial and episcopal seat. The thesis is proclaimed and demonstrated that, despite Austrian acquisition of the former Spanish Netherlands from 1714 to 1795 and the extended stay of a Dutch garrison,

the people of Namur maintained their intellectual and cultural life and with it their individuality. Mr. Pisvin proceeds thoroughly and imaginatively with his problem. His major categories, under which most of his data is subsumed, appear exhaustive: education, literature, libraries, entertainment, and individual creativity. He presents his material in a forthright manner imbedded in objective fact. He writes with clarity and balance and is able to keep the reader's interest. Though he adverts to French influence, sentimentalism, and to the practicality of religious education, he might have distinguished his work further by emphasizing ideas and trends such as liberty, social tensions, capitalism, secularism, the state, science, and technology. Proceeding as a scientist and following the method of Mr. Grosclaude's work on Lyon, the writer culled, analyzed, and synthesized the raw materials available in the libraries and archives, mainly of Namur and Brussels; he perhaps overlooked items that possibly exist in the Vatican and Vienna. His interpretations are sound. He notes the large parts that religious personnel and the standard of living played in education, the presence of censorship, and the general lack of genuine artistic and scientific achievement. But it should be remarked that the cathedral of St. Aubain dates from this era, which was one of vigorous civic activity. In contrast with the ferment in England and France, Namur's society seems clearly static. The intellectual life among the people has been epitomized as concerned with information rather than with creativity. Finally, the monograph is given a cachet of scientific bearing by its scholarly apparatus: bibliography, comparative statistical charts and graphs, plates, maps, and other useful features. In its style, procedure, content, and thesis the book is a contribution to the literature on the subject; it should definitely rate as a worthy example of the not so old new history.

University of Dayton

RAYMOND J. MARAS

ROME AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN SCANDINAVIA, UNTIL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE S. CONGREGATIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE IN 1622. BASED ON SOURCE MATERIAL IN THE KOLSRUD COLLECTION. Volume I (1539-1583). By *Oskar Garstein*. ([Oslo:] Universitetsforlaget; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1963. Pp. xii, 413. \$7.20.) The central concern of this study is the Catholic endeavor to rewin a base in Protestant Scandinavia. Among the leading figures were the Jesuit Laurentius Norvegus, for half a century "the living symbol of militant anti-Protestantism in Northern Europe"; Antonio Possevino, Gregory XIII's bold planner and strategist; and Francisco di Eraso, Philip II's envoy to the court of Sweden. That court was the focal point of the recovery effort. John III did not share the religious leanings of most of his subjects; this lent a tortuous quality to some of his moves. At home he had to proceed warily while abroad he sought a neutral course—this point is stressed by Garstein—entailing commitment neither to Philip and Catholic Europe nor to the Dutch and the Protestant cause. These public concerns were important to the King and likely overrode his personal preferences. Thus Norvegus and Possevino may be less blamable than the author implies for failing to bring him firmly back into the Catholic fold. Garstein has consulted a wide range of sources, the core of which were available in that collection of materials named after the Norwegian church historian who assembled from depositories all over Europe some 2,600 copies and photostats of records pertaining to the Counter Reformation in Scandinavia. The result is a fresh and commendably comprehensive exposition of the subject. Frequently there is much detail on the individual activities of the leading Catholic figures and on the correspondence involved. Some tendency to brevity on the other hand marks the treatment of the more mundane issues involved. For the Counter Reformation as usually understood was only a part of that large complex of forces, involving political, economic, military, religious, and ideological energies,

that cold war for which historians have no adequate term, but which so deeply engaged Europe for a century or more after the Council of Trent. When the author later moves into the tangled decades of Sigismund III and of Christian IV he may want to widen the larger political and strategic setting of his study. Here the story is taken to 1583, but the author means to carry it forward to 1622. Perhaps his editors can then consider some less cumbersome arrangements for the bibliographical lists and for the footnotes (here assembled in one massive block at the close). The documentation is indeed substantial, running to some 110 pages, and there is an adequate and convenient index. That Garstein has chosen to present his study in one of the widely known languages is most welcome, and readers will soon realize that the non-English idiom has been kept at a minimum. They will also earnestly hope that his plan to continue the inquiry will be realized. Meanwhile, in this initial volume scholars have a solid study on the keen involvement of Catholic energies, in Scandinavia, during the first generation after Trent.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

BRYGGERIETS HISTORIE I DANMARK INDTIL SLUTNINGEN AF DET 19. ÅRHUNDREDE. By *Kristof Glamann*. ([Copenhagen:] Gyldendal. 1962. Pp. 291.) Professor Glamann, who will be known to some readers as the coauthor, with Astrid Friis, of *A History of Prices and Wages in Denmark, 1660-1800* (1958), has examined in great detail the history of brewing in his native country, from the time of the Reformation until the end of the nineteenth century, considered from the practical, political, and economic points of view. His book is divided into four parts. The first describes the history of the raw materials and the processes employed in making beer. The second stresses the role of the brewers' guild in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The third is devoted to the rather complex history of a system of round robin brewing (*Omgangsbrygningen*) which was practiced from 1739 until the dissolution of the guild in 1805. The final part depicts the basis on which the world-famous brewers of today's Denmark arose in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first section in Glamann's book is of a general nature, although it is full of specialized, technical information. The final section also devotes considerable space to the description of technical processes (notably the differences between top fermented ales and bottom fermented beers), but it delineates an interesting facet of modern industrialization, despite the statistical information that is injected at every opportunity. The two middle sections of the book, while tedious in their exactitude and in their proliferation of detail, are historically the most significant. They cannot be read as a synthetic presentation, but they summarize a large amount of factual information pertaining to the social system, military establishment, and labor problems, especially of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At a time when other beverages, including even potable water, were not easy to procure, and beer was considered a staple in the daily diet, the quality and availability of beer had many implications. An examination of the history of taxes on beer or of the many decrees and laws promulgated pertaining to its export and import would suffice to clarify its role in economic history. The gradual shift from an agricultural to an industrial society is reflected in the rapid decrease in the number of brewers during the nineteenth century as methods for producing beer are perfected and made uniform. The author's arguments are fully documented in his notes. There are, in addition, four appendixes that furnish statistics on the types of fermented beverages made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the prices of beer in Copenhagen, 1689-1805, the production of beer at the crown's brewery, 1771-1865, and the production and prices of beer from the Gamle Carlsberg brewery, 1847-1897. There is also a bibliography of primary and secondary sources. Because of the wealth of detail and the technical language in this book, it will have few

foreign readers. The more the pity that, contrary to so many Scandinavian publications today, there is no résumé in English, German, or French.

University of Illinois

P. M. MITCHELL

NUNTIATURBERICHTE AUS DEUTSCHLAND 1533-1559 NEBST ERGÄNZENDEN AKTENSTÜCKEN. Part 1, 1533-1559. Volume I, ERGÄNZUNGSBAND 1530-1531: LEGATION LORENZO CAMPEGGIOS 1530-1531 UND NUNTIATUR GIROLAMO ALEANDROS 1531. Edited by *Gerhard Müller*. (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 1963. Pp. xciii, 472. DM 70.) This work, the first of two volumes supplementing the already published *Nuntiaturnberichte aus Deutschland* for 1533-1559, contains the informative Italian correspondence of Campeggio and Aleander with the *Curia* in Rome. The 131 documents of this volume cover the period March 16, 1530-December 31, 1531. The subsequent volume will extend through 1532. Each document is prefaced by a brief summary in German. An index for the entire series will be printed in the second volume. Since the publication is intended to present materials relating to the affairs in Germany only, its general historical usefulness is limited by the fact that matters dealing with other European countries are given in brief German paraphrase. The same is true of those paragraphs which are already available in H. Laemmer's *Monumenta Vaticana*, in publications by S. Ehses, and elsewhere. The reports to and from Rome given here present an insight into the inner workings of papal policy in those exciting months. From 1529 Clement VII saw in Charles V the only hope for action against the expanding Protestants and the threatening Turks; Campeggio thought the former worse than the latter. The papal policy was complicated by the presence of imperial troops in Italy and by Charles's pressure for a general council and for a decision in the protracted annulment process of Henry VIII and Catherine. To meet the Turkish threat, plans were considered for papal financial support, for an offensive in Egypt and Syria, and for a unified Christian fleet for operations in the Mediterranean. In the negotiations with the Protestants, the firmness of the papal "no concessions" policy is evident as are also the conciliatory efforts of Melanchthon at the Diet of Augsburg.

Arizona State University

KARL H. DANNENFELDT

GERMANY AND THE EMIGRATION, 1816-1885. By *Mack Walker*. [Harvard Historical Monographs, Number 56.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 284. \$5.75.) Studies of nineteenth-century European emigration, when taken beyond essentially statistical analysis, can offer fascinating and stimulating insights into political and socioeconomic history. Mr. Walker's book does that and more in its illumination of the relationship between German emigration and the response Germans made to it. The book is "not designed as a case study in migration for comparative and synthetic purposes; it is about a certain process of emigration, bound up inextricably with its own place and time—Germany in the nineteenth century." Clearly, the wide sweep of German history in the past century, even when studied in terms of a single aspect, offers a real challenge to the historian. Definition of time periods, identification of motivation impulses, characterization of social phenomena, and general conclusions all carry the risk of inaccuracy, and yet they are indispensable to our comprehension of migration. Aware of the hazards, the author probed deeply into the familiar phases of German emigration. His scholarly analysis and exploitation of manuscript materials in North American and West German repositories, notably in Washington, Stuttgart, Ludwigsburg, Karlsruhe, and Munich, and selective use of many printed sources and studies permitted him to re-examine, correct, reject, or substantiate past interpretations and conclusions. Quite obviously his labors produced some new insights into a complicated subject, although available research resources

forced an emphasis upon West German regions and the Atlantic-oriented migration. Beginning with the 1816-1817 burst and ending with the final and highest peak in the 1880's, the writer presents in some detail the manifold repercussions of the German emigration movement. Analytical writing, coupled with quotations from emigrant correspondence, official edicts, statistical data, and the like, reveals the complex course of, and response to, emigration. The human misery of 1816, the ideological fermentation of 1848-1849, the industrial expansion after 1870, and the resultant socioeconomic and party-political cleavages were matters of great moment. Yet, causal relationships cannot be easily assumed or identified. And what of the impact of the "social" spread of the emigration idea, the nature and consequence of regional problems and crises, the effects of *Zwergwirtschaft*, the "conservative" aspect of migration, or perhaps the "export" of the social question of post-1870 Germany? Lack of space prevents elaboration upon these and other problems examined by the author. Suffice it to say that he has produced a skillful account of the relationship "between what emigration was . . . and what people thought and did about it."

University of Colorado

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER

THE GENTLE CRITIC: THEODOR FONTANE AND GERMAN POLITICS, 1848-1898. By Joachim Remak. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 104. \$4.75.) The purpose of this monograph is to provide the reader with a "fresh look" at the *Reich*, at the meaning of the term "Prussian," and at German society and thought in the second half of the nineteenth century through the eyes of one of the most acute observers and objective critics of that time, the novelist, poet, and journalist, Theodor Fontane, a native son of Mark Brandenburg. Remak has judiciously selected and freshly translated numerous passages from Fontane's writings—novels, letters, poems—to reveal, chapter by chapter, Fontane's life, his politics, and his judgments of Prussia and Germany. "His answers," writes Remak, "may be as useful as any we are capable of offering a century later." Fontane is shown to be a Prussian Conservative yet a German Liberal, sympathetic to liberal revolution yet an upholder of the *Rechtsstaat*, understanding of the bourgeoisie yet detesting their ways, fascinated by Bismarck the statesman but repelled by Bismarck the man, an admirer of Prussian virtues yet critically aware of Prussian weaknesses, but above all a man of common sense, of balanced judgment, who took pleasure "in what was right about the world around him." I find especially valuable the chapters on Prussia and the Prussian squire in which Remak, through Fontane's writings, corrects the distorted shopworn image of the Prussian *Junker* cultivated in contemporary American demonology by William Shirer and others, and the concluding chapter in which Remak with fine historical sensitivity portrays Fontane's Germany, a Germany that was one with the West, with *fin de siècle* France, Austria, and Victorian England. Finally, the reproduction of a Max Liebermann chalk drawing of Fontane and an attractive format enhance this little cultural history volume for the bibliophile.

University of California, Santa Barbara

HENRY M. ADAMS

DNVP: RIGHT-WING OPPOSITION IN THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, 1918-1924. By Lewis Hertzman. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. vi, 263. \$5.00.) The present book and Werner Liebe's *Die deutschnationale Volkspartei 1918-1924* (1956) are two monographs on the same party, limited to exactly the same span of time. A look at the respective bibliographies indicates, not unsurprisingly, that the German volume rests on a greater variety of unpublished sources than that of Hertzman, all of whose authorities, moreover, had been consulted by Liebe. Hertzman's is, nevertheless, the better book, a more polished, more definitive and necessary sequel to the tentative German treatment. Liebe's exhaustive researches did not bring to light

anything that was not discovered in Hertzman's more restricted investigation. The German monograph is part of the "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien" series, whose inherent virtues are all too frequently adulterated by pedantic treatment and atrocities of style that make the reading of a hundred-page monograph a major undertaking. Characteristically, the Liebe volume begins in November 1918, while Hertzman gives the reader a chance to get acquainted with the subject in a readable, competent introduction of thirty-one pages. Hertzman ably blends analysis and narrative in the two chapters on the German Nationalist People's party's foundation, while Liebe provides a static recital of organizational details, valuable to be sure, but neither as versatile nor as comprehensive. The significant question of Nationalist participation in the Weimar coalition is handled rather mechanically in a short section by the German author, while it legitimately constitutes an important chapter in the Hertzman volume. In all fairness one should add that Hertzman's work is not flawless. Though far more mature and seasoned than its predecessor, it has its share of stylistic infelicities. Occasionally the author's great dependence on the papers of Count Cuno Westarp distorts the story into an account of that redoubtable conservative's activities rather than a history of the DNVP. In the last two chapters topical and chronological treatments conflict and overlap. These minor flaws are overshadowed by many good qualities. The use of south German sources illuminates the complexities and limitations of the DNVP as a national party. The third chapter, on the events of 1919, is particularly admirable for its clear presentation of an extremely involved sequence of happenings. Except for the necessarily tentative explanation of the party's split in the *Reichstag* over the Dawes plan in 1924, Hertzman's study should remain the authoritative treatment of this important topic for many years to come.

Tulane University

HANS A. SCHMITT

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1918-1933. By *Richard N. Hunt*. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany 79.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 292. \$7.50.) Professor Hunt's study is not a detailed political history of the Social Democratic party during the Weimar Republic; it was not intended to be. That book must still be written. It is, rather, an internal study of the SPD, concentrating on its organization, the sociological characteristics of the movement, and the internal struggles to control the party's machinery and policy. It contributes, nonetheless, to the history of the party and helps one to understand the causes of the party's failure to meet the challenges of Communism and Nazism. It is less successful in explaining why seven million voters continued to support it until March 1933. The first two chapters, based largely on secondary literature, describe and analyze changes in the party's organization between its founding and 1933. The third chapter discusses the leadership of the SPD, but with little attention to the human qualities of individuals, the fine portrait of Otto Wels being an exception. The next chapter examines the electorate of the party and the efforts that were made to woo and retain it. Two excellent chapters follow on "Social Democracy and the Free Trade Unions" and "The Rebellion against the Organization," the latter dealing largely with the Independent Socialist party and its heirs. A concluding chapter, "The Middle-Aged Party," summarizes the major points of the book. Most of Hunt's monograph is devoted to an analysis and verification of indictments that critics within the SPD repeatedly stressed. The charges refer to three trends: *Verbonzung*, which pertained to the oligarchic tendencies in the party; *Verkalkung*, which referred to the ossification and aging of policies and personnel; *Verbürgerlichung*, which took note of the fact that acceptance of middle-class standards and values had caused the bureaucracy and the executive of the SPD to grow more and more cautious and conservative. Hunt clearly shows the validity of the charges, demonstrates how the party's organization contributed to and reflected

these trends, and discusses how the SPD was devitalized as a consequence of these trends. Its organizational debilities, in turn, contributed to the astounding growth of the Communist party as well as to the sincere but ineffectual resistance to Nazism. The author's excellent bibliographical essay reveals a major shortcoming of this study: it is based entirely on printed materials available in the United States; the SPD materials that are available in European archives have not been utilized.

Colorado State University

BRUCE B. FRYE

GESCHICHTE AUF DEM BALLHAUSPLATZ: ESSAYS ZUR ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AUSSENPOLITIK, 1830-1945. By *Friedrich Engel-Janosi*. ([Graz:] Verlag Styria. 1963. Pp. 346.) It was an excellent idea of Fritz Fellner to edit a selection of Engel-Janosi's essays primarily centered on Austrian foreign policy and not yet available in German. Most of these studies, ably translated by Hans Friedl, were published first in the *Journal of Central European Affairs* between 1941 and 1954, one in the *Nuova rivista storica* in 1940. Two new essays, perhaps the most stimulating in the whole collection, are added: an introductory one dealing with the philosophy and structure of the *Ballhausplatz*, the metaphorical name for the Austrian Foreign Office, and a concluding study on the responsibility of the historian. This attractive volume published in honor of the author's seventieth birthday also includes a fine biographical essay on Engel-Janosi's life, written by Fellner, and a bibliography of his works. Both give convincing evidence of the breadth of his manifold achievements. Of the nine thoughtful essays on varied subjects, two excellent new ones are particularly welcome, not because one would necessarily have to agree with every statement presented there, but primarily on account of their stimulating effect on the "debate with historians," to quote Pieter Geyl. It may well be admitted, for instance, that Schwarzenberg and Aerenthal, more than any other Austrian diplomats after Metternich, were permeated by the *feu sacré* to achieve a leading Great Power position for the Habsburg Empire. Yet if one assumes that neither a Middle Europe under Austrian leadership in Schwarzenberg's time nor Austrian control of the western Balkans in that of Aerenthal had much chance of success, the far less brilliant Goluchowski who acted in accordance with the principle *quicquid non movetur* might possibly be considered as the one diplomat who did most to prolong the life of the monarchy. Concerning another issue, it is perfectly true that the loss of Silesia to Prussia changed the further course of Austrian history profoundly. But would it necessarily have had to be a change for the worse? Could not the destruction of the broad basis of German centralism in Austria conceivably have been used by a farsighted regime to establish an equilibrium between the Austrian nationalities long before the failure of Kremsier? In the challenging last essay the task of the historian is perceived in the field of political-social history outside of merely institutional problems. This responsibility is to be handled in a threefold way: by collection and objective evaluation of facts, not unlike Croce's views, by reliving of the past, and by precise presentation without empty adornments. Final judgment should be left to a reader enabled by the historian to render it. Among nineteenth- and twentieth-century Austrian historians, Srbik comes closest to Engel-Janosi's standards. Judged by the impact he has made on some of his students, Engel-Janosi himself foremost among them, there is certainly something to be said for this choice.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

VON SCHÖNBRUNN BIS ST. GERMAIN: DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER REPUBLIK ÖSTERREICH. By *Friedrich F. G. Kleinwaechter*. ([Graz:] Verlag Styria. 1964. Pp. 336. Sch. 118.50.) Friedrich Kleinwaechter, though not a professional historian, may well be classified as a professional connoisseur of the social structure of imperial

Austrian government and one endowed with extraordinary literary skill. These faculties are based on a combination of profound administrative experience, legal acumen, and a truly original mind. Those who were privileged to know the author will add to this an impression of great personal charm. Kleinwaechter, to whom we owe notable studies on the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy and on the *Anschluss* and two of the most penetrating and at the same time most entertaining volumes on the bureaucracy of old Austria, shortly before his death in his eighties completed a new study about the transition from imperial Austria to the Austrian Republic. This volume reveals the traces of old age only at points by a certain long-windedness. On every major issue it commands the respect and close attention of the student of Austrian history. Moreover, while contemporary historical literature abounds in scholarly, pseudoscholarly, and outright journalistic attempts at dealing with the twilight of Austria-Hungary, this one definitely adds a new dimension: the approach of the constitutional lawyer of keen perception and political independence. To be sure, not everyone will agree with all the author's contentions. Some may feel that his analysis of the Austro-German position at the end of the war is too rosy as compared to his evaluation of Magyar policies. Others may consider his criticism of German nationalism as too harsh and his evaluation of Slavic irredentism as too friendly. This it may be, but the over-all result is one of measured and well-balanced judgment. Challenging and, while not provable, well reasoned is Kleinwaechter's contention that the ill-fated imperial manifesto of October 1918, which announced the introduction of federalism in the Austrian half of the monarchy, had at least one positive effect: the peaceful transition from the imperial administration to the new regimes in the succession states. Concise, accurate, and interesting is the author's analysis of the constitutional organization of the new Austrian Republic. While his careful evaluation of the peace treaty of Saint-Germain follows traditional lines of Austro-German historiography, the narrative of the "negotiations"—an ambitious term for the limited communications in writing—is the best available thus far. All things considered, one might have wished that the author had lived to see the publication of this book and enjoyed its favorable reception, which it fully deserves.

Rutgers University

ROBERT A. KANN

JOHANN ANTON VON TILLIER ALS POLITIKER. By *Ernst Burkhard*. [Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, Number 47.] (Bern: Stämpfli & Cie.] 1963. Pp. 448.) A nineteenth-century Bernese patrician who has hitherto been known only as a historian, the author of twenty-one volumes of Bernese and Swiss history, of which over half cover his lifetime (1792–1854), here receives a "life-and-times" political biography. This book has been created almost exclusively from Tillier's 2,500-page manuscript autobiography, which Tillier in turn had carefully distilled from twenty-one volumes of diaries. Tillier emerges as a statesman who tended to judge issues by the historian's canon of experience rather than by instinct. Inheriting a certain patrician breadth of vision, he always seemed slightly uncomfortable in political life; his abrasive wit spared few political contemporaries, either conservative or liberal, and his special target was the narrowness of Bernese and Swiss political factions (*Gevatterschafts-krämerei*). In Bern, Tillier served both the Restoration and post-1831 Liberal governments; he also sat briefly in the national Swiss Parliament after 1848. His enemies, particularly the patricians, accused him of characterlessness and opportunism, but his sympathetic biographer easily clears him of such charges: Tillier's conduct was consistent and conciliatory, his specialty was always foreign affairs, and his primary goal a modern, centralized Swiss government. But Ernst Burkhard leaves aside Tillier's most serious shortcoming, both as a politician and as a man: he was incapable of strong passions and shunned crises, dodging attendance both at the Bernese Constitutional

Convention which hammered out the 1831 revolution and at the Swiss Diet of 1847 which waged such decisive war against the Sonderbund. Burkhard's biography provides some charming glimpses into the torpor of Swiss public life, a pallid corner of a dramatic European age. But in the last analysis it seems an unsatisfactory compromise, which provides us neither with a full biography of the subject nor with a thorough political history of nineteenth-century Bern and which adds surprisingly little to the sketch of Tillier's political philosophy in Feller and Bonjour's *Geschichtsschreibung der Schweiz*.

Northwestern University

E. WILLIAM MONTER

STORIA ECONOMICA E SOCIALE DI SAN GIMIGNANO. By *Enrico Fiumi*. [Biblioteca storica toscana, Number 11.] (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, Editore. 1961. Pp. 372.) San Gimignano today is a small Tuscan town, which, because of its many lofty towers, has become a tourist attraction. These fortified tower houses were erected in the age of the communes by the leading families of both feudal and mercantile origin. The Salvucci family alone built a complex of three. Although no longer of more than regional importance, San Gimignano had international connections in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries because it was located on the Via Francigena, the pilgrim road from France to Rome, and had saffron as an article of export. Some of its merchants journeyed to the Levant and to the fairs of Champagne, and the town maintained a hostelry in nearby Pisa. Eventually the town was overshadowed by its neighbors, Siena and Florence, and in 1353 it lost its independence and had to recognize the latter as overlord. The Black Death was a major blow and reduced the population in the town and its surrounding territory by nearly one half. From this blow the economy of San Gimignano never fully recovered. Even the small prosperous woolen industry declined with the result that the town was thrown back on the limited and purely agricultural resources of its countryside. Moreover, San Gimignano's geographical location was not favorable, once the trade routes had changed. Enrico Fiumi, author of works on Florence and Volterra, has written a book of more than local interest because of the skillful use he makes of tax records in order to show shifts in population, changes in the distribution of wealth, and the growth of ecclesiastical property, especially after 1400. Population reached its lowest point in 1674 and has only recently regained the level attained prior to the Black Death. More monographs of this high quality should be written to provide secure data for generalization. One regret: a plan of the town and a map of the district are not included.

Brooklyn, New York

FLORENCE EDLER DE ROOVER

LA REPUBBLICA PARTIGIANA DELL'ALTO MONFERRATO. By *Anna Bravo*. [Istituto Storico della Resistenza in Piemonte. Studi e documenti, Number 1.] (Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore. 1964. Pp. xv, 269.) The people of the Alto Monferrato or Basso Astigiano, a hilly region whose farms and vineyards are chiefly held by small proprietors, were conservative and apolitical throughout the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth. They were untouched by the *Risorgimento*; during World War I the area swarmed with deserters. The author of this monograph, a thesis at the University of Turin, examines in detail the *resistenza armata* in this zone and its brief experiment in self-government. Militant Communists took the lead, and in the summer of 1944 three brigades of *Garibaldini* were organized. They were recruited locally: former soldiers of the royal army, which had dissolved at the news of the armistice in September 1943, enrolled as did younger men who preferred to serve as partisans rather than answer the call of Mussolini's Italian Social Republic. Others

joined "autonomous" formations. By the end of the summer of 1944 the partisans controlled the area, and in actions at Bruno (October 20) and at Bergamasco (November 4) they beat off the initial attempts of the Nazi-Fascists to reoccupy it. On December 2 the Fascists, who are said to have committed ten thousand men, decisively defeated the partisans, most of whom, however, managed to escape. The local republic, whose chief organ of government had been the *Giunta* of fifteen members (three from each party: Communist, Socialist, Actionist, Christian Democrat, and Liberal) was extinguished. In its brief period it had served to give the population an education in democratic principles and practices. The author finds the chief significance in the participation of the peasantry who furnished most of the recruits and, perhaps of more importance, by hiding, supplying, and offering general support, enabled the armed resistance to live.

Department of State

HOWARD M. SMYTH

ISTORIILE DOMNILOR ȚĂRII ROMÎNEȘTI [Histories of the Rulers of the Rumanian Kingdom]. By Radu Popescu (*Vornicul*). Edited with an introduction by Const. Grecescu. [Cronicle Medievale Ale Romîniei, Number 4.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne. 1963. Pp. cix, 338. Lei 31.) This is the first unabridged critical version of one of the most controversial Rumanian chronicles, written about 1724 and attributed to the Justiciar Radu Popescu. Constantin Grecescu consulted twenty-five existing manuscripts of this chronicle (none complete and many altered by copyists) in order to compose the first authoritative text twenty years ago, as part of his doctoral dissertation. The chronicle is preceded by a meticulous criticism of the manuscripts and accompanied by footnotes limited to archaic word variations, modernized in the text. This work can conveniently be divided into two parts. The first, dealing with the history of Wallachia, 1290-1688, is a chronicle in the strict sense; the second is essentially an official record and apology of the two reigns of the first phanariot prince, Nicholas Mavrocordato. In contrast to the better-known but more parochial Moldavian seventeenth-century chronicles, one of the merits of Popescu's chronicle consists in his unitary treatment of all three provinces inhabited by Rumanians. This breadth of vision is further evidenced by his frequently placing events in Wallachia within the context of Central, East, and occasionally West European history. From the domestic point of view the chief value of the chronicle is its polemical nature, indicative of the intensity of Boyar ideological conflicts during the period. The author reflects the viewpoint of the powerful Băleanu faction who sensed that the primacy of Boyar rule was threatened by social upheaval from below and by the authoritarianism of a strong prince (particularly the Cantacuzinos) from above. The eventual solution of a weak foreign prince dependent upon the Turks is obviously to the liking of the author, and in his mind is compatible with Boyar interests. Finally, the chronicle should be singled out for the modern historical conceptions of the author (he questions his sources and believes in causality) and the vividness of the style. Although the writer of the preface is to be commended for rehabilitating the views of "bourgeois" historians such as Nicolae Iorga, there is still enough lip service paid to Marxist terminology to detract from the weight of his analysis. Particularly misleading are references to the growth of patriotic sentiments among the masses at the end of the seventeenth century. A more weighty objection is to be found in the publication of an outdated work. The authors of the preface and the explanatory note question Grecescu's interpretation on the basis of new evidence and more modern methods of historical research. Most basic is their decision to reopen the problem of the paternity of the chronicle which Grecescu had settled in favor of Popescu's single authorship. In view of this disharmony in interpretation, the lapse of time that has occurred since Grecescu's research, and the lack of a comprehensive critical apparatus, there is a strong

argument for having undertaken the edition of this most significant Wallachian chronicle in a more rigorously scientific way.

Boston College

RADU FLORESCU

DEZVOLTAREA ECONOMIEI MOLDOVEI ÎNTRE ANII 1848 ȘI 1864: CONTRIBUȚII [Economic Development of Moldavia between 1848 and 1864: Studies]. Edited by V. Popovici *et al.* [Academia Republicii Populare Romîne, Filiala Iași, Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie.] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne. 1963. Pp. 505. Lei 28.) The studies in this volume are of the highest caliber, reflecting recent trends in Rumanian historiography toward "scientific" research rather than ideological polemic. Each contribution is a systematic survey of the development of one or another branch of the Moldavian economy in the crucial years between the Revolution of 1848 and the emancipation of the peasantry in 1864. The longest, and least original, is Ecaterina Negruț's essay on agriculture. It contains new data on agricultural technology and capitalization but also an overabundance of raw statistics emphasizing the all too obvious discrepancy between the sizes of the holdings of the aristocracy and the peasantry in 1848 and 1864. Leonid Boicu's article on industrial development is more comprehensive and particularly valuable for a reasoned statement on the status of Moldavia's artisans after emancipation. Two young historians, N. Corivan and C. Turcu, prepared an outstanding paper on trade, reviewing the development of foreign commerce and refuting standard contentions on usurious practices by Jewish and other foreign tradesmen in Moldavia. The complementary study on credit and its significance in the general economic development of the province by Constantin Anghelescu is also excellent. The concluding essay, also by Boicu, on the Moldavian transportation system is a meticulous pioneer effort largely unrelated to the other contributions. All studies are based almost exclusively on new archival materials. The authors have made judicious use of these sources and promise to expand the scope of their respective papers upon more thorough exploration of the Jassy and Bucharest archives. Their findings should elucidate many hitherto obscure facets of Rumanian social and economic history, particularly those related to the Moldavian revolution of 1848 and the controversial rule of Alexandru Ion Cuza.

Wayne State University

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

STATE AND LAW: SOVIET AND YUGOSLAV THEORY. By Ivo Lapenna. [London School of Economics and Political Science, Papers in Soviet and East European Law, Economics and Politics, Number 1.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1964. Pp. xi, 135. \$5.00.) Dr. Lapenna has produced a small volume on Soviet and Yugoslav legal theory aimed primarily at clarifying recent efforts by jurists in these two Communist nations to explain the role of the state and law in the period of transition to full-scale Communism. The book contains a useful summary of the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the role of the state following the proletarian revolution, and the debates in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia over whether law is to "wither away" as Communism matures. Despite the sterility of much of this Communist brand of scholasticism, the author quite rightly insists that the subject of state and law in Communist theory is not without utility in understanding Communist totalitarianism. But how? In particular, do the evolution of doctrines concerning the withering away of the state and changes in legal systems that have taken place in both Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in recent years reflect any significant change in the systems themselves short of complete abandonment of authoritarian rule? Here Lapenna's account has certain shortcomings. For example, in Yugoslavia the concept of the withering away of the state has had an interesting history and definitely influenced the form of administration, and even party rule, in

the 1950's. This development, which came to a head in 1953, and then was followed by a return to more centralized practices (all of this prior to the rapprochement between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, contrary to Lapenna's account), is not given the treatment it deserves. On the other hand, the contrast between Soviet innovation in the field of popular justice (comradely courts) and Yugoslav reluctance to engage in such practices is not explained. Generally, the author feels that there have been no significant results from the increased discussion of problems of state and law in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia during the past decade or so. Unfortunately, this position obscures many fascinating problems connected with the development of Communism in these two countries since the Stalin period.

University of Virginia

PAUL SHOUP

CONVERSATIONS WITH THE KREMLIN AND DISPATCHES FROM RUSSIA.

By *Stanislaw Kot*. Translated and arranged by *H. C. Stevens*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xxx, 285. \$5.60.) Polish-Soviet relations in World War II have continued to attract the interest of scholars, and for good reasons. Poland experienced the most dramatic crisis of all Russia's neighbors. At the same time, the war years afforded foreign observers opportunities for closer contact with Soviet officialdom. On this spectrum, which ranges from Winston Churchill to Milovan Djilas, this volume will occupy a modest but solid place. The Polish government-in-exile had diplomatic relations with the USSR for less than two years. This collection deals with the period from September 1941 to July 1942, when Stanislaw Kot was Polish ambassador, when dealings were relatively "normal," if only because Stalin was too preoccupied with the crisis at the front and too well aware of his own weak position to bully the "London Poles." Kot provides an informed introduction to the nearly one hundred documents in this book. While some have previously been cited in English, the documents translated here are drawn from two volumes available only in Polish: *Listy s Rosji do Gen. Sikorskiego* (1955), containing Kot's dispatches, of which approximately one-fourth are reproduced here; and *Rozmowy z Kremlem* (1959), giving précis of thirty-four conversations with Soviet officials, including Stalin, Molotov, and Vyshinsky. While there is clearly some imprecision in these notes (we are told they were drafted after each session from the Polish interpreter's notes and the participants' memories), there is no reason to question the general reliability of the material. Much of the book deals with the sore issues of the day: the fate of Polish citizens in the Soviet Union; those in labor camps and those in the army; the dead, the missing, the condemned, and the amnestied. Here and there larger issues are illuminated—as Stalin's notions regarding the future—and little insights are provided into Soviet attitudes and behavior, which made the war years so perplexing an amalgam of alliance and deception.

Columbia University

ALEXANDER DALLIN

UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA. Volume I. Prepared by Shevchenko Scientific Society. Edited by *Volodymyr Kubijovyč*. Foreword by *Ernest J. Simmons*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association. 1963. Pp. xxxviii, 1185. \$37.50.) This work is a revised and augmented version of the three-volume original. A detailed description of the geography and demography of the Ukraine is followed by a profusely illustrated ethnographic article that dwells on the customs of the Ukrainians of Galicia and of the Carpathian Mountains while unfortunately giving little attention to the effects of Soviet rule on the folkways of the Ukrainians in the eastern Ukraine. Shevelov contributes a scholarly article on the history and structure of the Ukrainian language, and articles based on recent research

concerning foreign influences in the Ukrainian linguistic and literary heritage are contributed by Ševčenko and Čiževsky, with the latter also providing an article on the history of Ukrainian literature. A major portion of the volume is devoted to a history of the Ukraine from prehistoric times to the present. The various contributors to this history, including N. Chubaty, B. Krupnytsky, and E. Borshchak repeat the views of the Ukrainian national school of historiography of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, namely that Kievan Rus was the ancestral home and the first state of the Ukrainian people; that ethnic differences between the Ukrainians and the non-Ukrainians in this state helped achieve its disintegration; that the Treaty of Pereiaslav was merely a military alliance between two sovereign states and not an act whereby the Ukraine was incorporated into Muscovy; that Mazepa's collaboration with Charles XII, far from being an act of treason to Peter, was caused by the latter's attempt to subjugate the Ukraine; and, finally, that Ukrainian statehood continued to live on in the hetmanate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the Ukrainian gentry and intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, and in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. Alexander Shulhyn's articles concerning that republic are marked by a frank admission that the defeat of the Ukrainian national forces against the Poles and the Bolsheviks in 1920 was caused as much by internal dissension as by the military superiority of the enemy. Vsevolod Holubnychy's summary of the history of the Soviet Ukraine from 1917 to the present cites Soviet statistics to substantiate the ruinous effect of collectivization on the Soviet economy and the enormity of the famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933. Thanks in part to the extensive and up-to-date bibliographies accompanying each article, the present volume, together with the forthcoming companion volume, will no doubt become a major point of departure for future Ukrainian studies.

Hunter College

MICHAEL M. LUTHER

A CENTURY OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1814-1914. By *Barbara Jelavich*. [The Lippincott History Series.] (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1964. Pp. x, 308. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$1.80.) Strange as it may seem, the history of Russia's foreign relations has not fared well either in Russia or abroad. Individual episodes, particular alliances, wars, or peace settlements have been explored, but very few scholars, Russian or Western, have tried to produce works of synthesis and generalization. Dr. Barbara Jelavich declares that her purpose is "to explain and describe how Russia, who became a great European power in the eighteenth century, was able to maintain that position and to expand her borders in the nineteenth century. . . ." Unfortunately, the purpose is not fulfilled since the description is inadequate and the explanation unconvincing. The flexibility of Russia's foreign policy, alliance with Germany and Austria, and division among its enemies are given as the three principal keys to understanding Russia's success. But how does one account for the flexibility? Surely we are not expected to take seriously the contention that the allegedly frequent lack of control on the part of the Foreign Ministry over its agents abroad contributed to it. Among other reasons for Russia's success the author lists the lack of desire on the part of major powers to conquer Russian territory. "Had Russia had sugar, spice, jewels or silks . . . she might have fallen victim to imperial movements similar to those which brought European domination to the Americas, Africa, and the Far East." What of Russia's wheat, flax, furs, timber, gold, and oil? What of its people and its armies, and what of Charles XII, Napoleon, Wilhelm II, and Hitler? I must confess that I have trouble imagining Russia in the part of Cambodia, the Gold Coast, or Peru. The book is written from a Balkan vantage point which has been carried to excess. The conquest of Central Asia, the accomplishment of which took a generation and was a great feat

of empire building, is given four pages, while the Turkish war of 1877-1878 is allotted fifteen. Relations with Persia are summed up in two or three pages; Bulgaria, which did not even exist until 1878, gets ten times as much space. Serbia seems much more significant than China, and the acquisition of Bessarabia more important than that of the Caucasus. Foreign affairs are dealt with in a vacuum, though occasionally the backwardness of Russia and its supposed military weakness are pointed out. Minor errors and questionable assertions are found throughout the book. A lively and engaging style might have made this book interesting to the proverbial general reader. Unfortunately, the writing is bad, often confusingly imprecise, and at times even ungrammatical.

Yale University

F. KAZEMZADEH

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY IN THE SOVIET MIRROR. Edited by John Keep and Liliana Brisby. [Library of International Studies, Volume II.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. 331. \$7.50.) In July 1961 a conference was held in Geneva under the joint auspices of the British quarterly *Survey* and the *Institut Universitaire des Hautes Études Internationales*. This collection of essays represents some of the conference papers accompanied by a summary of the discussions that followed. The basic themes discussed were cultural exchange between East and West and coexistence. The editor, John Keep, acknowledges that "a great deal is now being written by Soviet historians that deserves close study by their western colleagues." Nonetheless, Soviet historians had no part in this conference, the reason for their absence presumably being that their participation might have led to a "confrontation of opposing ideologies" and an unprofitable exchange of polemics. Furthermore, though the conferees did not expose ideological fallacies, they made "no secret of their opposition to the authoritarian aspects of the Soviet system." The general impression gathered from the symposium is that both the East and the West seem to accept the principle that historical writings, whether confronting each other or not, are bound to serve the ideological struggle. The only difference is that the Western camp carries this struggle with a degree of sophistication and couches its arguments in a more temperate style, while the opposing camp "shoots from both hips." More succinctly, both sides are subjective, except that one is more so. The conferees learnedly reminded each other that history must be written by dispassionate recorders, though some passionate arguments are left to posterity. The thirteen stimulating essays gathered here valiantly cope with a variety of wide-ranging subjects which therefore lack a forceful central theme. They raise many grave questions, but render too few rewarding answers: "The cult of the individual" problem is frequently mentioned. But what and who created it are complex questions. The problem has wide implications which only one author correctly perceived by stating that the entire Soviet system necessitates a "single infallible interpreter." The political system itself perpetuates party dictatorship, which in turn perpetuates a personalized cult. Regrettably only the fringes of such inherent and vital problems are encountered. The haunting query remains: how does such a system manage to be dynamic enough to attain a commanding position in world affairs? The symposium is not free from such thread-worn theories as the similarity of tsarist and Stalinist diplomacy, or assertions of "Russian obsession about being encircled" by sea power. On the other hand there is no mention of such a factor as, let us say, a West German Republic, propped by American economic power and politically and militarily allied with the West. What the latter means to the average Russian might have been told by some of the authors or, perhaps, revealed by a feared "confrontation" with their opponents.

Stanford University

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR

Near East

EASTERN ARABIAN FRONTIERS. By *J. B. Kelly*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1964. Pp. 319. \$8.50.) Very detailed and well-documented, this study bears particularly on the Anglo-Saudi controversy after 1949 over the Buraimi Oasis. While it will prove of primary interest to the specialist in view of the very wide implications of the controversy and the special interest in the petroleum, it will also commend itself to the attention of all serious students of the Middle Eastern scene, whatever their predilections or views relative to the controversy. As Dr. Kelly demonstrates, the long-standing conflict between the United Kingdom and Saudi Arabia concerning the eastern frontiers was much intensified, especially after the end of World War II, by the search for oil. Fundamentally it was a struggle involving the problem of whether Qatar, the Trucial sheikdoms, and the sultanate of Muscat and Oman were to be independent or to fall under the domination and control of Saudi Arabia. Since 1949, essentially, the struggle has centered on the Buraimi Oasis, from which, with British assistance, the Saudis were evicted in 1955, after their seizure in 1952. The first portion of Kelly's work is devoted to the study of Saudi expansion in the Arabian Peninsula from the early nineteenth century to the consolidation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1932 and to the negotiations for the determination of the eastern Saudi frontiers. In the latter half of the book, the author provides a detailed examination of the problem in the period following World War II, discusses the sweeping Saudi claims in 1949, the Anglo-Saudi controversy relative thereto and the attempts at arbitration, and analyzes the Saudi *Memorial*, presented to the United Nations in 1955. Kelly completely rejects the Saudi position on all counts and questions whether the Saudi government would even have set forth its claims had not King ibn-Saud been in failing health. "As it was," he writes, ibn-Saud was "guided by bad counsel, both from those who led him to believe that the extension of his rule over the southern shore of the Gulf was feasible, and from those who, by fabricating a basis for the claim, persuaded him that it was justified." Kelly well notes the Curzon dictum concerning the Arab aversion to the acceptance of "fixed boundaries" in this area. He also notes that the roots of the frontier question reach back into the early nineteenth century, for some 150 years, and asserts that the persistence of the problem has little to do, in essence, with "oil exploitation, imperialism, or Arab nationalism, however much these factors have inflamed it in our day." The book is based on much original research in the historical records. In view of its very nature, however, it is not only bound to be widely read by those with direct interests in the area, but it will also call for response. The appendix contains the Arbitration Agreement of April 30, 1954, and the submissions on *Zaḳat* in the Saudi *Memorial* of 1955. There is also a very useful map of eastern Arabia.

American University

HARRY N. HOWARD

IRAQ UNDER GENERAL NURI: MY RECOLLECTIONS OF NURI AL-SAID, 1954-1958. By *Waldemar J. Gallman*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 241. \$5.95.) Students of the contemporary Middle East are often assailed by rather general journalistic works, some of which attempt résumés of the area's history to provide background for the general reader. Almost as often they are given more valuable works that attempt to deal with political or diplomatic developments in the area without much attention to economic and social developments. Mr. Gallman's book stands in a third group by giving us a rather well-rounded picture of Iraq in the period of Nuri al-Said's last premiership, 1954-1958, during which time the author was United States ambassador to Iraq. Nuri is the central figure in the book. The reader is given

accounts of his part in the Baghdad Pact, his domestic policy, his ideas and activities relating to Arab nationalism, his ideas and statements on Israel, and his relations with the British and Americans and their positions in Iraq. Other chapters discuss the Qasim *coup d'état* and its aftermath and the author's personal impressions of Nuri. Three adverse criticisms can be made: First, the biographical-topical approach tends to blur both the picture of developments in Iraq and the picture of Nuri as a man. Second, it is sometimes difficult to tell when the author shifts from his own comments to the thoughts and statements of Nuri. Third, the organization of the book leads to some repetition. However, these shortcomings are more than balanced by the facts that Gallman has attempted an honest, judicious appraisal of Nuri and of United States policy toward Iraq and that his account is that of a trained, interested eyewitness to this period of Iraqi history. In these respects the book makes a distinct contribution to the field of Middle Eastern studies.

Wisconsin State College, Oshkosh

ROBERT CARLTON DELK

Africa

FOREIGN TRADE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. By *S. Daniel Neumark*. [Food Research Institute, Miscellaneous Publication Number 14.] (Stanford, Calif.: the Institute, Stanford University. 1964. Pp. xii, 222. \$6.95.) The author offers a long-range view of sub-Saharan African economic development, particularly as related to contacts with the outside world. The first third of the book is a survey of African commercial contacts from pre-Christian times to the middle of the nineteenth century. The remainder of the volume is devoted to developments in the past hundred years. Emphasis is placed on the exploitation of mineral resources; Neumark takes issue with those advocating expanded agricultural output as a first step to economic development. Students of African history will find the book wanting in a number of respects: the historical sections are not grounded on recent scholarship; the early chapters have a number of misleading statements and unjustified or unproven assumptions and conclusions. This is strikingly manifest in the map inside the front cover, which purports to chart the trans-Sahara caravan routes. Not only does the map fail to discriminate between primary and secondary routes—and over the centuries there were dramatic changes—but it also fails to show the routes connecting with the forest areas. Treatment of East African commerce with the Indian Ocean also leaves much to be desired in the light of recent studies. The author is obviously more in command of recent developments, notably for southern Africa. Here the reader is fairly deluged with tables of statistics and sentences crowded with undigested data—a *mélange* of tons, short tons, metric tons, pounds, kilos, hectares, acres, miles, kilometers, dollars, French and Belgian francs—sometimes interspersed in the same paragraphs. Moreover, a number of developments in West and East Africa are barely mentioned or inadequately treated, as, for example, the growth of large European firms at the expense of African middlemen, the influx of Lebanese and Asians in retail trade, and the introduction of marketing boards. Neumark's conclusions on the strategies of development are best left to economists since the views of those with whom he takes issue are presented in attenuated form. The nonexpert will not be entirely convinced by his facile dismissal of their arguments. A survey of the economic history of Africa is badly needed and would be welcome; half a loaf, however, is not sufficient.

Indiana University

GEORGE E. BROOKS

THE MOSSI OF THE UPPER VOLTA: THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SUDANESE PEOPLE. By *Elliot P. Skinner*. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University

Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 236. \$6.50.) In recent years historians, and particularly African historians, have turned increasingly for understanding of the peoples whose history they write to the works of anthropologists. At the same time the anthropologists have moved closer to the historians by providing not only technical information about a society and its culture, but by attempting to place them in a historical context as well. In describing the Mossi of the Upper Volta Professor Skinner has accomplished the first task admirably, thus gratifying the anthropologist, but the second less so, leaving the historian dissatisfied if not discontented. The first and clearly the most important contribution by Skinner is his analysis of Mossi society. This is useful to the historian, for at present the Mossi are experiencing such dramatic changes that historians in the future will be dependent on this scholarly exposition for understanding of the Mossi past. Mossi kinship, chiefship, administration, law, warfare, and religion are meticulously described, presenting a mosaic of understanding out of the frequently bewildering details and complexities of Mossi culture. For that reason alone this is an important book. Skinner's second contribution is perhaps of even greater significance to the historian. With uncommon dexterity he destroys the French myth that the Mossi state had lapsed into decay and decadence at the time of the European conquest. This myth evolved not so much to justify European conquest as to explain what the French did not understand. This may seem commonplace to the African historian, but all too frequently the commonplace in Africa is difficult to substantiate. In the case of the Mossi the author has obligingly accomplished this task with insight and skill. The book's third contribution to history is the least satisfying and the most incomplete. Although seven chapters are devoted to the elucidation of Mossi society, only two short chapters describe the impact of European rule on that society, and that description is largely confined, and inadequately so, to the chiefs and politicians. The results of colonial rule and independence upon the Mossi have been great, and it is lamentable that the excellent anthropological analysis could not have been accompanied by a fuller description of the effects of economic, social, and religious change on the Mossi, particularly following World War II. The best the historian can hope for is that Skinner will provide a sequel on the modernization of the Mossi to complement such an auspicious beginning on their past culture. There are a bibliography, map, and a most necessary glossary. The footnotes, unfortunately, appear with the index at the end.

Williams College

ROBERT O. COLLINS

OTTOMAN EGYPT IN THE AGE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By *Huseyn Efendî*. Translated from the original Arabic with introduction and notes by *Stanford J. Shaw*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 11.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1964. Pp. ix, 198.) Established as an authority on Ottoman Egypt by his earlier publications, Professor Shaw here presents a translation of an Arabic manuscript that is "an exposition of answers to questions concerning Cairo, its government and organization, posed by His Excellency Estève, treasurer of the French Republic (in Egypt) to Huseyn Efendî. . . ." The thirty-six-page translation is preceded by a short essay on the administrative and social structure of Ottoman Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century and is followed by more than a hundred pages of notes. For both the essay and the notes Shaw has drawn heavily upon his own work, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798*. Those who have read that tome will find little that is new in either the essay or the notes. The translation, on the other hand, is of considerable interest. The dialogue between Estève and Huseyn Efendî amounts to a field manual for the Ottoman administration of Egypt. Huseyn Efendî had been a bureaucrat in the

Treasury under the Mamelukes, and in 1800, under the French, he was chief administrator of the Department of Registration Tax. Shaw has mined the text for its factual content, but more can still be done with it as a human document. Parts of the text have appeared in French, but this is the first English version, and it is complete. Although the Arabic text has been published by Professor Ghorbal, failure to include the Arabic original lessens the utility of the work.

Princeton University

NORMAN ITZKOWITZ

LE MAROC ET L'EUROPE (1830-1894). Volume IV, VERS LA CRISE. By *Jean-Louis Miège*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1963. Pp. 466. 45 fr.) The fourth volume of Professor Miège's detailed study describes the intense rivalry among England, France, Germany, and Spain over Morocco. This competition for mineral rights and agricultural markets conditioned the European attitude toward the sultan's government. While Moulay Hasan wanted reforms that would strengthen his government and protect its autonomy, the Europeans defined reform in terms of financial stability, trade concessions, and public works, all designed for their commercial advantage. Tribalism and lack of Moroccans trained in technical and commercial skills offered opportunities for European penetration of Morocco. Ambitious consuls made separate agreements with southern Moroccan chiefs without the consent of the sultan's government. An interesting chapter on European institutions traces how consular offices, postal service, missionaries, and newspapers enhanced the penetration of Morocco. In effect, a nominal protectorate was gradually encircling Morocco. It remained to be seen which of the two greatest competitors, England or France, would finally succeed. This work is voluminously documented with archival material from all the major countries that were concerned with Morocco. Newspaper and periodical sources are extensively used, and the well-written section on Protestant missions is based on an article published by the author in 1955. A study of Morocco and Europe should include an account of the Moroccan economic, political, and social response to European influence. This has been the most glaring omission of the study. In conclusion, however, the author writes, "The economic changes were already posing the allurements of social problems," which suggests that the following volume might fill this gap. Miège deserves credit for a major contribution to North African history.

DePauw University

DWIGHT L. LING

LA FRANCE EN CÔTE-D'IVOIRE DE 1843 À 1893: CINQUANTE ANS D'HÉSITATIONS POLITIQUES ET COMMERCIALES. By *Paul Atger*. [Publications de la Section d'Histoire, Number 2.] (Dakar: Université de Dakar, Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines. 1962. Pp. 204.) FRENCH-SPEAKING WEST AFRICA: FROM COLONIAL STATUS TO INDEPENDENCE. By *Philip Neres*. [Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1962. Pp. 101. \$1.75.) M. Atger's well-organized bibliography reflects painstaking efforts to search out and to use both primary and secondary sources. Unfortunately, however, he was unable to locate the papers of Alfred Verdier, the most important of the French merchants on the Ivory Coast during the period covered. Atger has, nevertheless, demonstrated great skill in overcoming this lacuna and, as well, the enormous confusion that he found in the archives of the Ivory Coast for the period before 1891. The result is a critical reconstruction—neither laudatory nor censorious—of the history of French official vacillation in the establishment of a stable administrative system or economic policy. He shows clearly the role of private initiative in maintaining a hold on the Ivory Coast in spite of indifference and, worse,

lack of resolution on the part of the French officialdom, either of which was discouraging to the efforts of the merchants and destructive of the power of the African chiefs over their people without providing a substitute for it. In a sense, Mr. Neres' book complements Atger's study. It is a compact summary and analysis of the development of French West Africa since 1904 from colonial status through the failure of the French community and its breakup into eight independent states. He found the official French attitude toward the colonies a reversal of the one that prevailed during the period of Atger's study, a change that the latter noted and pointed out came rather late. Now a policy of political assimilation and very close economic relations between France and its overseas possessions made it impossible for the West African colonies to achieve economic independence along with political independence in 1958. Nevertheless, he views the future with restrained optimism. He sees the leaders of the former French colonies less interested in ideologies than in developing their countries economically, even though it seems to him that that development must be accompanied by the growth of autocratic government. Both of these studies are heavily documented, and both add significantly to the growing list of specialized studies so necessary to the task of writing the history of Africa. There is no intention of denigrating the work of Neres when we acknowledge that the products of African scholarship of the quality of Atger's book are especially welcome.

Morehouse College

MELVIN D. KENNEDY

Asia and the East

SHIH-LIU SHIH-CHI CHIH FEI-LÜ-PIN HUA-CH'IAO [The Overseas Chinese in the Philippines during the Sixteenth Century]. By *Chen Ching-ho*. [Monograph Series, Number 2.] (Hong Kong: Southeast Asia Studies Section, New Asia Research Institute, 1963. Pp. 27, 2, 7, 161.) This rather immature book has a deceptive title. Of its five parts, only one, the third chapter, bears directly on the Chinese traders in the Philippines. The introduction and Chapter I deal mostly with Filipino history in general. Chapter II is devoted to the Philippine adventures of a Chinese pirate. Chapter IV bears the title "The Philippines at the End of the Sixteenth Century," but contains a sketchy treatment of widely divergent subjects ranging from "the Philippines in trouble at home and abroad" to "the ordinance forbidding the Filipinos to wear Chinese stuffs." The appendix is a chronology of major events in the Philippines from 1570 to 1947. To his credit, the author has used some of the most important Spanish sources. His research, however, is marred by uncritical analysis, fuzzy reasoning, and such an inability to write readable Chinese that one wonders how the book ever found its way to the market. In Chapter II the author makes a series of assertions about a Chinese envoy who visited the Philippines in 1576. He concludes that this man deliberately lied to the Chinese government, and that, therefore, the Chinese records cannot be used with confidence. But the grounds for this judgment are never made clear. From the garbled footnotes it seems that no more than a single source—and that one in English—has been used. Almost as strange, the author attributes the anti-Chinese policy of the Spanish government to three factors only: the invasion of a Chinese pirate in 1574, the refusal of the Chinese to open their country to Spanish merchants and missionaries, and the peccadilloes of the Chinese envoy in 1576. Even these topics are inadequately treated, and one searches in vain for a thorough discussion of such factors as the community relationship between the Chinese and the other groups in the Philippines, and the effect of the traditional Chinese policy toward expatriates.

University of North Carolina

Y. C. WANG

JAPAN JOURNAL, 1855-1861. By *Henry Heusken*. Translated and edited by *Jeannette C. van der Corput* and *Robert A. Wilson*. (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. 1964. Pp. xviii, 247. \$6.00.) This fascinating journal, known to exist—a fragment of it was published in German in 1883—but long missing, is a significant document for students of early United States-Japanese diplomacy. It fills in the role played by its author, Henry Heusken, the brilliant Dutchman who was Townsend Harris' secretary and translator. Dr. Jeannette van der Corput, an attorney in the Netherlands, purchased at an auction some years ago a Dutch manuscript of the Heusken Journal and was preparing it for publication. Unknown to her, Professor Robert A. Wilson at U.C.L.A. was already engaged in the same work on the original (written in French), which his university had previously acquired. Their collaboration began when their paths inevitably crossed. And a happy collaboration it seems to have been. They have made their translation as lively and as readable as any other contemporary account of those dramatic days when Japanese isolation was being breached, including even Harris' own distinguished *Journal*. Heusken had a keen eye and a responsive pen, helpful tools for a young man who probably expected to publish his observations. Loving fun, but never placing it above his sensitive official duties, he self-consciously recorded, in pen-and-ink sketches as well as in choice words, the spectacle he was helping to transform. (And he did not entirely rejoice over the direction the changes were taking. "I fear, Oh my God," he wrote, "that this scene of happiness is coming to an end and that the Occidental people will bring here their fatal vices.") Heusken, who was assassinated, probably by anti-Western fanatics, when he was twenty-nine years old, had spent only a brief time in the United States before joining Harris. That his *Journal* should at last emerge in this country is a deserved tribute to his services on behalf of what he called the "Republic Par Excellence." His editors have dealt with his text chastely and sufficiently. Is it captiousness to complain, though, that they have used backnotes instead of footnotes?

Columbia University

HENRY F. GRAFF

ASIAN REVOLUTIONARY: THE LIFE OF SEN KATAYAMA. By *Hyman Kublin*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 370. \$9.00.) Stalin himself in 1933 helped carry the bier of Sen Katayama, "father" of the labor movement in Japan, important influence in the founding of both the American and Japanese Communist parties, and member of the presidium of the Comintern. In what will for some time remain the standard biography in English of the revolutionary who represented "Asia" for so many American and European socialists, Professor Kublin, a product of our wartime training in the Japanese language, treats this "hero" in a highly readable way as a man with human failings of naïveté and self-deception without minimizing his prodigious efforts, talents, and sincerity. Nor does he over-emphasize Katayama's Bolshevik phase, which was reached, amazingly enough, only at sixty years of age after a career of many frustrations and yet of many accomplishments in the introduction of new facets to the Westernization of Japan. The first seven of the sixteen chapters deal with Katayama's remarkable struggle to procure without financial aid an education in early Meiji Japan and in the still roughhewn America of 1885-1896. Describing his founding of the first settlement house after his return to Japan and his subsequent involvement in the infant labor and socialist movements, Kublin shows that Katayama remained a devout Christian much longer than is usually realized. The contrasts between Katayama's growing reputation in the international socialist movement, which began dramatically at Amsterdam in 1904, and his personal rebuffs and increasing failures in the Japanese socialist movement and in his family life form a kind of theme in the book. It is the author's hypothesis that a call to go to New York in 1916 by J. S. Rutgers, a long-time Dutch socialist friend,

rescued Katayama from "oblivion," for it placed him in a strategic outpost of Bolshevik intrigue where he met Trotsky and other revolutionary titans. This opened his way to the top as a willing servant of the Third International, a role recounted in the final three chapters. While keeping Katayama at all times the center of his attention, Kublin fills in enough of the historical background to make his subject's varied activities meaningful. And yet, at the end, I do not feel I have met Katayama face to face. Kublin need not have been so reluctant to quote directly from Katayama and analyze further the content of his thought, even though it is clear that Katayama was not a theoretician but rather an activist and polemicist. A selected bibliography is appended, however, which includes a section on Katayama's own writings, beckoning the student to pursue many of the suggestions for further exploration implicit in this pioneer work.

Eastern Michigan University

GEORGE O. TOTTEN

PROBLEMS OF HISTORICAL WRITING IN INDIA: PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEMINAR HELD AT THE INDIA INTERNATIONAL CENTRE, NEW DELHI, 21ST-25TH JANUARY 1963. ([New Delhi: India International Centre. 1964.] Pp. 148. Rs. 4.25.) One of many tangible signs that historical writing in India has been reaching steadily higher levels during the past few years, this slender volume comprises seventeen short papers loosely grouped under five headings: problems relating to political-administrative, economic, and social history, the use of evidence from other techniques, and problems of teaching and research. The majority of the authors (all but two are Indian, and all purport to be "younger historians") demonstrate a healthy awareness of the value to the historian of methods and concepts adapted from the social science disciplines and from archaeology. This seems to have been what the seminar's conveners had in mind, for they assert in their preface that their aim was to lead to "the emergence of new techniques and methods of interpretation" and "the filling in of gaps by the use of interdisciplinary techniques." The papers of the conveners, S. Gopal and R. Thapar, and those of Robert I. Crane, I. Habib, S. Nurul Hasan, and T. Raychaudhuri best succeed in this aim. The papers abound in suggestions for the improvement of both research and teaching in India, with the emphasis almost exclusively on the history of India, although several authors deplore this insularity and call for more work on regions beyond India's borders, especially on the history of Southeast, Central, and Southwest Asia. Many members of the seminar would like to see more aids to research compiled: bibliographies, biographical dictionaries, historical atlases, hand lists, catalogues, calendars, and critical editions of documents. Crane, the one American contributor, rightly notes the interdependence of theoretical and practical work and stresses the importance of preserving and microfilming local archives, private papers, newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides. The seriousness of this problem can be gauged from the fact that some important writings of modern India's greatest leaders have already vanished, apparently irretrievably, through neglect. The usefulness of these proceedings is unfortunately marred by the uneven quality of the papers, which appear to have been printed without the benefit of editing, and by the scores of typographical errors, which careful proofreading could have removed. One might wish that the study of cultural and intellectual history had been given more than the minimal attention it received in the papers and appended discussions. Finally, it is inexplicable that no mention has been made of the excellent work being done by S. P. Sen, also a "younger historian," in his triple capacity as director of the Institute of Historical Studies, editor of its *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, and secretary of the Indian History Congress. All things considered, the volume contains many stimulating suggestions for the selection of research problems and the use of more sophisticated methods; it also testifies to the considerable technical difficulties still to

be surmounted by historians in India as they proceed to cultivate the new ground this book surveys.

Harvard University

STEPHEN N. HAY

HOW THE BRITISH OCCUPIED BENGAL: A CORRECTED ACCOUNT OF THE 1756-1765 EVENTS. By *Ram Gopal*. (New York: Asia Publishing House; distrib. by Taplinger Publishing Company, New York. 1963. Pp. vi, 373. \$9.00.) Ram Gopal, author of a number of works on modern Indian history, including the well-known *Indian Muslims—A Political History*, has not gone beyond printed sources for this account of the occupation of Bengal by the East India Company; nor has he made much use of recent scholarly studies. Because of this his promise of "a corrected account" of the events was not likely to be fulfilled, but his handicap was increased by a rather uncritical acceptance of the partisan narratives of such contemporaries as Bolts, Verelst, and Vansittart. No reference is made to Indian source materials on the grounds that English writers had falsified the history of the period: "English records should be considered as the best authority to correct the narratives of English historians." Furthermore, in his analysis he applies interpretations drawn from modern nationalist ideas that seem peculiarly inappropriate to Bengal in the eighteenth century. The general tendency of the book is to picture Siraj-ud-daula and the other rulers as defenders of the Indian homeland against unscrupulous foreigners who, having been given concessions, used their position to undermine the state that had treated them with generosity and forbearance. There is little attempt, for example, to assess the role of the great Hindu merchants, who, apparently, helped in the transfer of power to a new group that seemed more capable of providing security for trade and commerce than did the Nawab's government. What the author has presented is a readable narrative of the maneuvers and intrigues in Bengal between Siraj-ud-daula's accession in 1756 and the grant of the dewanee to the East India Company in 1765. The numerous extracts from contemporary documents sometimes unwittingly undermine the author's argument. Much the same reaction of a ruler being driven through a sense of his impotence to utter threats that could only end in disaster for himself was to be seen many times in the next century as British power established itself in the subcontinent. Siraj-ud-daula and his successors used against the British the methods that Indian rulers had traditionally used against overmighty subjects—methods that the Emperor at Delhi had in fact used against the Nawabs of Bengal. Gopal does not give sufficient attention to the failure of comprehension on both sides: on the part of the Nawab, to realize the extent of the resources that undergirded the power of the East India Company; on the part of the British, to understand that the Nawab's government was different, both in its claims and its actual power, from anything that they had known in Europe. What the author might have done to justify his claim of having included "all essential constituents of the story" would have been to show what happened when a modern state, even if in the guise of a private company, intruded into an area with quite different concepts of governmental functions and responsibilities. The resulting changes have usually been described under the rubric of "imperialist expansion," and unfortunately this book does not add much to our understanding of the nature of that process.

Columbia University

AINSLIE T. EMBREE

SOUTHEAST ASIA: ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT. By *John F. Cady*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. xvii, 657. \$10.75.) What could be more timely than this condensation of our existing knowledge of a troubled area? After an introduction describing the geographical and ethnic setting, the trade relations among the various parts of Southeast Asia, and the long process of Indianization, the author

divides his study into five parts: "Early Empires," "Transition to Modern Times," "European Commercial Dominance," "Intensive Economic Development," and "Political Reform and Nationalist Revival." At the end an excellent chapter called "The Relevance of History" gives perspective to the postwar problems of the area. There are also a ten-page chronology of important historical developments by regions and countries, a useful fourteen-page selected bibliography, and an extensive index. Professor Cady makes no claim that his work is definitive nor that it contributes much that is new. He has, however, performed a distinct service to scholars, and to those laymen who read it in its entirety, by bringing together the findings of the many monographs and articles that have appeared in recent years. His account, then, goes beyond the 1955 history by D. G. E. Hall, and it is somewhat broader in scope, for Cady gives more attention to social and economic trends, and he includes the Philippines as part of the area. The emphasis throughout the book is on the distinctive accomplishments of these countries themselves rather than on their role as pawns in the story of European expansion. Clearly shown are the historic group rivalries within each country, traditional conflicts among countries, and the long-time interest of Chinese settlers as well as of China itself in this region. In spite of rivalries some Southeast Asian rulers or dynasties have been able to provide stability for long periods of time and have shown remarkable capacity to adjust to changed situations. Cady believes that it is this very ability, as well as time and circumstances, which was moving these countries inevitably toward self-government even without the admittedly strong appeal of the Japanese slogan "Asia for the Asians." But in view of the long tradition of arbitrary governments it is a moot question whether the new ones will be democratic. The author comments on the persistence of traditional values and ends with the reminder that many thoughtful Southeast Asians "seek happiness not by the restless acquisitive effort characteristic of the West but by curbing personal needs and desires. The furniture of life must not be permitted to overwhelm the spirit."

Washington State University

HERBERT J. WOOD

PIRACY AND POLITICS IN THE MALAY WORLD: A STUDY OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY SOUTH-EAST ASIA. By *Nicholas Tarling*. (Vancouver: Pacific Affairs, University of British Columbia. 1963. Pp. 273. \$6.50.) Aside from providing much new information about piracy in the Malay world from around 1820 to 1870, Dr. Tarling introduces the reader to the wealth of British manuscript sources relating to one small phase of Southeast Asian history. He cites no fewer than seven hundred references, including three categories of British Foreign Office records, two of the Colonial Office, nine of the East India Company Board, political dispatches of the India Office, plus extensive private manuscript collections and printed sources. The study is informative but by no means definitive. It contains an overabundance of quotations from correspondence and other political minutiae, and its one-sided sources reflect only a single aspect of a complicated picture. Tarling describes British policies relative to piracy, but he attempts no careful assessment of comparable Dutch and Spanish roles. The pirates themselves appear at times almost as incidental actors. Piracy in the Malay world, extending from Sumatran Aceh through the Malacca Straits and encircling Borneo, was a time-honored means of earning a livelihood and was often a matter of definition. It stemmed more from political disorganization than from sheer lawlessness and moral laxity. Conviction of alleged pirates was difficult to obtain in the Calcutta courts. British Indian authorities were understandably reluctant to become involved in such a morass of petty violence, especially since British vessels were seldom involved. Chinese pirates operating from the demoralized South China coast following the Opium War could usually obtain clearance papers from Singapore authorities while gathering information about the

cargoes of prospective victims leaving the port. Malay and Straits pirates were more of a nuisance than a commercial threat, and the semipiracy of Aceh was connected with interportal warfare and the policy of the sultan to levy tolls on passing ships. The more ferocious Ilanun and Balanini pirates of the Sulu Islands and Mindanao plundered and kidnapped in bolder fashion often far from home. They attacked Spanish territories in the Philippines and also moved southward in January along the east coast of Borneo, harrowing the Buginese, Macassars, and other native traders of the Java Sea over to Bangka Island and Singapore. They turned homeward with the summer monsoon (June) along the west Borneo coasts. Piracy diminished in the 1860's following European use of armed steamers and the gradual pacification of the area by the extension of European colonial control.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

THE NEW STATES OF ASIA: A POLITICAL ANALYSIS. By *Michael Brecher*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xiv, 226. \$4.80.) Professor Brecher, well known for his excellent biography of Pandit Nehru, has in this volume brought together several essays, most of them previously published in a variety of scholarly journals. The first two chapters provide a rapid survey and analysis of the problems encountered during the colonial and early postcolonial eras by the "new states" of Asia. To the specialist there is little that is startlingly new in these capsules, but they are concise and well presented. Brecher's analysis of the general causes of political instability is especially good. Inevitably, the author's expertise is uneven, and his reliance on not always accurate secondary sources has resulted in several (fortunately minor) errors and misinterpretations, especially with regard to the countries of South-east Asia. He writes with authority and obvious sympathy on India, without, however, doing less than justice to Pakistan. Indeed, he finds—somewhat too generously, it would seem to me—that Marshal Ayub's "Basic Democracy" constitutes "the most impressive political innovation in the new states of Asia." Chapters III and VI, entitled "A New Subordinate State System" and "The New States in World Politics," respectively, make far heavier demands on the reader, for in them the author attempts to construct a model of international relations appropriate to postwar Southern Asia. I am not qualified to pass judgment on the merits of Brecher's ingenious and often highly suggestive constructs; I may be permitted to say that, with the disappearance (whether temporary or final) of Communist monolithic unity, the "Dominant System" has obviously undergone such far-reaching changes that a new analysis may be needed to place the "Subordinate System" of Southern Asia into a new perspective. In any case, however, much can be learned from Brecher's courageous venturing beyond the confines of "area studies." His attempt to understand contemporary South Asian politics by analogy with Central Europe between the two world wars is worth careful consideration. The book also contains an interesting, though somewhat out-of-place, chapter on "Israel and Afro-Asia," illumined by the author's firsthand acquaintance with Israel, and a brief yet brilliant analysis of neutralism. The appendix includes excerpts of talks with Nehru, held in 1956. The passing of India's great leader endows these pages with a certain retrospective melancholy. It is doubtful that another Indian statesman will ever speak with the peculiar blend of nineteenth-century liberalism, Fabian socialism, and Brahman logic that marked Jawaharlal Nehru. All told, then, this is a crisply written volume for which many readers may well be thankful.

Yale University

HARRY J. BENDA

SOUTHEAST ASIA: PROBLEMS OF UNITED STATES POLICY. Edited by *William Henderson*. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 1963. Pp. xiv, 273. \$6.75.) The eleven papers in this book were given at a

conference on Southeast Asia under the sponsorship of the Asia Society and the Association for Asian Studies. Obviously designed to provide some guidelines and viewpoints regarding American policy in Southeast Asia, the essays consider factors of diplomacy, history, economics, psychology, ideology, politics, and anthropology as they impinge on the confused situation that besets American policy in Southeast Asia since 1950. A region that is not really a region; nationalism that is not actually rooted in the life of the people; ideologies that claim to speak for everyone but actually do not speak for the generality of the population; cultural conflict that not only pushes some groups ahead but also forces others even further backward; the question of Communism that rivals American policy and that also is split, in turn, between Russians and Chinese; and an image of the outlook of the United States that equates responsibility with the exhortation of policy assertion rather than a reliance upon patient and unpanicked innate strength—all these are to be found in the discussion, and they are propounded with varying degrees of skill by the contributors. The specific chapter on the historical background of American policy in this tremendously variegated area written by John Cady is too clipped and terse to help much because it tries to do too much. There are, moreover, as the editor remarks, considerable differences among the writers. In one case, the essay by Charles Wolfe, Jr., there is a portentous pretentiousness that characterizes the work of so many quantifiers of policy choices and decisions. This is balanced, however, by the extremely shrewd perception of John M. Allison who has written a tight manual on the diplomacy of common sense as well as an essay on the limits of policy in Southeast Asia. The essay by Clifford Geertz is excellent in the manner in which the author's handling of complex and sophisticated anthropological data is reflected in his equally sophisticated and honest grappling with the problems of outside impact upon a very involved cultural scene. This is essentially a useful book whose topical quality is more valuable for historians than the constant references to history in several of the essays indicate. This is not an adverse criticism, even in a journal of this sort, for most of the authors maintain the importance of history in trying to understand the condition of Southeast Asia and the policy problems that vex the United States. In the context of the Southeast Asian crisis, one wonders whether the United States quite properly has a viable history at all in Southeast Asia with the exception of the Philippines. This is a case where one tradition of history has simply swallowed up the comparatively short history of the United States in the area. And this is a lesson that should make American historians aware of other intellectual approaches to the question as this volume does.

University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

CHARLES VEVIER

SOUTHERN EUROPEANS IN AUSTRALIA. By *Charles A. Price*. [Published in association with the Australian National University.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xvi, 342. \$7.75.) Like the United States, Australia has developed through the interaction of successive waves of immigrants upon the "established" population and upon each other. But, unlike the United States, it has effectively escaped the problem of assimilating nonwhite people by simply refusing to admit them, and, except in recent years, the overwhelming preponderance of new settlers has been drawn from the British Isles. By American standards, therefore, the population of Australia is homogeneous; non-British peoples have contributed relatively little to Australian development; and, except in the negative sense of evoking antipathy, non-Britishers have not left their stamp on the Australian national character. The truth of the matter is that immigrants from continental Europe have been submerged minorities. This partly explains why Australian scholars have paid scant attention to the history of immigration. Almost all the work has been published within the last decade. But if Australians have lagged, they can now draw upon an extensive monographic literature,

they can place their work within a larger, more meaningful context, and they can utilize and refine existing methods and concepts. *Southern Europeans in Australia* is well worth the wait. It combines the best features of contemporary scholarship, especially the insights of sociology and psychology, with the historian's traditional concern for grace and clarity, respect for the complexity and diversity of social relationships, and understanding of the similarities and contrasts between the Australian experience and that of other countries. Students of American immigration can learn much from both the data and the approach. Two features are outstanding. The first is the author's detailed analysis of the social and political structure of the Mediterranean communities from which the settlers emigrated. He shows, for example, that most immigrants came from relatively few localities, that they were generally coastal rather than inland, and that chain migration was more complex and varied than has been commonly recognized. The particularistic analysis of the immigrants in Australia is also outstanding. They tended to congregate in particular localities rather than to fan out over the settled area, preferred intensive agriculture to pastoral activities, and were urbanized more slowly than in the United States. Too, Australians failed to understand or to sympathize with ethnic clannishness. Price has kept statistical data to a minimum by publishing them in a separate volume, *The Method and Statistics of 'Southern Europeans in Australia'* (1963).

State Historical Society of Wisconsin

PETER J. COLEMAN

POLITICS AND PARTIES IN POSTWAR OKINAWA. By *Mikio Higa*. (Vancouver: Publications Centre, University of British Columbia. 1963. Pp. x, 128. Cloth \$4.50, paper \$3.50.) In this competent, brief survey of Okinawan political activity and the impact of United States policy since the end of the Second World War, the author surveys the history of sovereignty over the islands, the development of political parties, the attitudes toward major postwar issues, and the nature of Okinawan politics. He presents a good guide to the maze of party formation, identification, alignment, and realignment. The climate of opinion within which the parties operate regarding major issues such as reversion to Japanese sovereignty, American military bases, and self-government is well described, though perhaps the revolutionary effects of American bases on the general economy receive too little attention. The popular desire of the majority to convert "residual" to actual Japanese sovereignty is clarified by describing liaison between Japanese and Okinawan parties and the understandable local agitation for more genuine self-government. There is little information here on the origins, interests, and character of specific political leaders. This is unfortunate, for personality, position, and factional interest, as the author points out, are very important in Okinawa. The extensive bibliography is valuable and interesting, especially in its listing of articles on Okinawan matters in leading Japanese intellectual journals such as *Seikai* and *Chuo Koron*. This good book makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the Okinawan side of one of our knottiest and most embarrassing foreign policy problems.

Sweet Briar College

DAVID F. ANTHONY

Americas

RACE: THE HISTORY OF AN IDEA IN AMERICA. By *Thomas F. Gossett*. (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1963. Pp. ix, 512. \$6.95.) This book, clearly written and based on extensive research, is both more and less than "the history of an idea." It is more in covering a multitude of ideas, feelings, and policies. Chapters on the religious and social attitudes of early settlers toward Indians, on the Teutonic tradition in historiography, on the study of Anglo-Saxon as a language, on the status

of the Negro after the Civil War, on immigration restriction policies, and on the general battle against "prejudice" since the 1920's represent only parts of a bountiful volume. With so much to cover, the author has not realized a unifying conceptual theme. Instead of tracing the development of an "idea," he has written about various kinds of ethnic tensions in America with a special interest in the doctrines and theories relevant thereto. Lacking its own intrinsic structure, the book borrows its form from the more specialized studies that have treated many phases of its subject. Thus we find nineteenth-century anthropologists in Chapter iv, historians in Chapter v, literary scholars in Chapter vi, sociologists in Chapter vii, clergymen in Chapter viii, and certain naturalistic novelists in Chapter ix, with little suggestion of interconnections between these groups. The racialist debate over imperialism at the end of the century is fully described, while similar debates (not so well known) in the middle of the century are largely ignored. Professor Gossett's contribution is neither in opening new dimensions nor in genuinely integrating existing knowledge, but rather in telling a familiar story with fresh detail garnered from wide reading of primary sources. The book supplies in several instances (for example, Lester F. Ward, Lothrop Stoddard) a more balanced, intelligible summary of a man's racial views than is available elsewhere. In our era the passions of race have proved their capacity to survive the destruction of formal racial philosophies. Consequently a book like this one, organized on the assumption that theories have been central to the course of race relations, seems musty and academic. The theories, to be sure, have an interest of their own; they deserve to be anchored solidly in the general history of nineteenth-century thought. Gossett has done something with that intellectual background, but not enough to hold his story together. The scholarship of Lovejoy, Cassirer, and others makes it unnecessary in a book of this kind to leave relations between pre- and post-Darwinian evolutionism and between nationalism and racism so little clarified.

University of Michigan

JOHN HIGHAM

GEOGRAPHY NOW AND THEN: SOME NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF ACADEMIC GEOGRAPHY IN THE UNITED STATES. By *William Warntz*. [American Geographical Society Research Series, Number 25.] (New York: the Society. 1964. Pp. 162. \$4.00.) The author states that this is not a definitive work but an informal narrative revealing certain neglected aspects of the history of American academic geography. Most of the book concerns what Warntz calls "The First Cycle of Academic Geography" beginning in American colonial colleges in the eighteenth century, if not earlier, and lasting into the first half of the nineteenth century. It is his thesis that college geography appeared in the curriculum of American colonial colleges and did not have its origins in the middle of the nineteenth century as is commonly believed by many geographers. To support his thesis, Warntz offers considerable evidence from the archives of several colonial established colleges, with Harvard supplying the most evidence, that the discipline of geography appeared in the curriculum of colonial colleges. It is here that Warntz makes his chief contribution to knowledge although it may be rejected or disputed by some scholars. To achieve his purpose, Warntz uses a broad definition of geography. As he argues, "who are we to look back upon an early 'geography' course and label it as 'not geography'?" Consequently, a course in "the mixed mathematics of general geography and astronomy with the use of the globes" taught by a Harvard professor of mathematics and natural philosophy would be acceptable evidence to Warntz. Somewhat related to the main theme are several brief "chapters" with headings such as "Varenius' Geography" and "The Special Geographies." Of particular interest and promise is the last chapter entitled "Academic Geography and the Nation's History." But it is meagerly developed and only adds to the disjointed nature of the book. Further detractors are the lack of

proper citations, no bibliography, and an inadequate index. This book raises once more the issue whether one should publish "notes" or delay until one can publish proficiently and fully.

Central Washington State College

WALTER L. BERG

THE IDEA OF THE SOUTH: PURSUIT OF A CENTRAL THEME. By *Richard B. Harwell et al.* Edited by *Frank E. Vandiver*. [Rice University Semicentennial Publications.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the University. 1964. Pp. xi, 82. \$3.95.) In the study of southern history, the central theme is the quest for the central theme. The effort to reduce the complexities of the past to a neat, one-sentence formula has developed into a sort of parlor game. And, whether the South is seen as moonlight and magnolias, grits and greens, or Jim Crow and Judge Lynch, oversimplified descriptions of the diverse people called southern ordinarily add little to understanding but much to polemics. In this volume are seven essays that are, to some extent, exceptions to the rule. George B. Tindall urges further delving into the mythology of the South of popular imagination; Richard B. Harwell sees self-consciousness and the humiliation of defeat as unifying factors; Louis D. Rubin, Jr., in a description of a Faulkner novel, offers perceptive insight into the role of the novelist as portrayer of the South; Frank E. Vandiver contributes a somewhat frenetic idea of the South as the home of the offensive-defensive; T. Harry Williams describes southern politics, especially that of Huey Long, as a clash between the real and the romantic; Walter Prescott Webb sees the South as the land of promise; and Hugh B. Patterson, Jr., in a look forward, advocates a healthy atmosphere of dissatisfaction with things as they are. On the whole the essays are provocative and useful, a fitting monument to the anniversary of a great university.

Wake Forest College

DAVID L. SMILEY

THE SUPREME COURT AND PUBLIC PRAYER: THE NEED FOR RESTRAINT. By *Charles E. Rice*. (New York: Fordham University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 202. \$5.00.) This attack on the Supreme Court's recent prayer decisions is hardly history in any professional sense of the term. Instead, it is a lawyer's brief that mobilizes certain fragmentary pieces of historical evidence to support its argument that the Court has outraged the original meaning of the "establishment" and "free exercise" clauses in the First Amendment by committing the United States to a "false neutrality" between the "three religions," theism, agnosticism, and atheism. The authors of the First Amendment, Mr. Rice argues, admittedly intended to prohibit an established church and to protect freedom of religious worship, but at the same time, he insists, they recognized that American society actually had a theistic foundation which must be protected. The author cites a great variety of disparate evidence to support this argument, some of it naïve and irrelevant, much of it significant, but none of it put together in any careful and objective historical analysis. It includes the references to God in colonial charters and in the Declaration of Independence; the congressional debates of 1789; and the historically extensive elements of entanglement between church and state since that time. Whether Jefferson and Madison would find the present Court's attempt to implement Jefferson's "wall of separation" as outrageous as the present author thinks is, in my opinion, at least doubtful. Equally doubtful is the author's insistence that the Court now actually threatens to make agnosticism and atheism the official religions of the United States. The author cries out that the Court has given aid and comfort to "the Communist vision" of the world, but he fails to recognize that the Court's neutrality is actually an attempt to protect the varieties of religious expression in a highly pluralistic social order without plunging American society into a series of divisive religious quarrels. And his perfervid declamation that the Court's stand on public

prayer "gives the lie to the birth-certificate of my nation—the Declaration of Independence," may well be treated with polite but only half-tolerant skepticism.

Wayne State University

ALFRED H. KELLY

THE COLONIAL WARS 1689-1762. By *Howard H. Peckham*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 239. \$5.00.) From 1689 to 1762 the English and French colonists of North America found themselves involved in the backlash of a series of European wars with only one, the Seven Years' War, of their own making. Because these wars were reflections of European power struggles, there was a reluctance on the part of the individual colonies to participate until their own borders were threatened. Any account of these wars, therefore, must be as much a study of noncooperation as a chronology of military actions. And few of these actions can be dignified by terming them battles; rather they assumed the form of raids and skirmishes, characterized by the raw brutality of the frontier. There were lessons in these colonial wars, especially the last one. It was during the French and Indian War that a number of military leaders of the American Revolution gained their first military experience to claim commands for which they were ill-equipped. Yet experience gained on the battlefields of the 1750's was lost in time, the British casually admitting, but doing little in recognition of the value of combined army-naval operations, of the rifle and the uses of mobility in a wilderness war. The Americans, despite the demonstrated superiority of regulars over militia, still clung to the ancient idea of the adequacy of the citizen-soldier. *The Colonial Wars* is basically a military narrative, though fundamental reflections of political consequences, albeit thin, do complete the story. Research has been concentrated on secondary sources; all of the important accounts have been examined, and the author has used them well. This is not to say that primary materials were not consulted, but by contrast they fall into a minor category. Mr. Peckham's intent to present a compact history of the colonial wars has been fulfilled in a pleasant manner—enough so that the reader sometimes finds himself wishing that space had permitted the author to amplify in detail some of the titillating tidbits that he is forced to dismiss with little more than a mention.

Tulane University

HUGH F. RANKIN

COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY. By *Harry Roy Merrens*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 293. \$7.50.) In this valuable study the author devotes himself to several themes. He is concerned with the influence of the land (used in its broadest sense) upon the people of prerevolutionary North Carolina. He also considers the image of the land, the significance of that image, and its relationship to reality. But as a student of historical geography, he is primarily interested in geographical changes caused by the impact of the people upon the land. He maintains that the colonists inevitably transformed the land while exploiting it, and he regards fire as the most "persistent agent of alteration" in North Carolina, as indeed throughout the Southeast. Fires set in order to create vast expanses of open land produced the savannahs and bogs so prevalent in the coastal plains during colonial and later times. The author also points out how ethnocultural groups varied in their treatment of the land. The Moravians, for example, continued to utilize the intensive farming techniques they had learned in Central Europe. Mr. Merrens believes that historians have paid too little attention to the growing importance of the colony's road system, which resulted in different crop patterns as new markets were opened up. In the past, he argues, there has been an erroneous tendency "to regard agriculture in colonial North Carolina as being part of an unchanging and uniformly distributed subsistence econ-

omy." In analyzing intracolony regional differences, the author contends that earlier writers have sometimes implied a greater homogeneity within the various regions than the facts warrant. He also maintains that the fall line has been emphasized too much, both as a line of demarcation between regions and as a factor contributing to the growth of towns. Merrens has used a variety of historical sources, including official and private correspondence, diaries, travel accounts, export and tax records, and inventories of estates. Over one-third of the volume is devoted to appendixes, notes, and bibliography, and there are forty-four maps and fourteen tables to supplement the text. The author has called for similar studies of other colonies; his own pioneering work in historical geography will serve as a good model for anyone willing to accept the challenge.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

EBENEZER KINNERSLEY: FRANKLIN'S FRIEND. By *J. A. Leo Lemay*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1964. Pp. 143. \$4.00.) Ebenezer Kinnersley has long deserved more attention. Colonial lecturer, electrical experimenter, college teacher, and religious controversialist, he played an important role in his society. Mr. Lemay here provides a careful, painstaking sketch of Kinnersley's life, activities, and relationships. At many points he corrects details of the story, and others he fills in in a satisfying manner. Fully acquainted with the secondary literature, he has based his account upon manuscripts, newspapers, and relevant eighteenth-century publications. Kinnersley's relationships with Franklin, the College of Philadelphia, and the Baptist Church are especially well delineated. The limitations of this book are in penetration and interpretation. Lemay offers an excellent chronology and external narrative, but does not ask enough questions about the significance of what he relates. For example, he tells us when, where, and in what form the controversy between Kinnersley and David Colden occurred. He does not ask what it was about or evaluate Kinnersley's role in it. Similarly, he relates the electric eel experiments performed by a committee under Kinnersley's chairmanship, but he does not evaluate the experiments or describe their influence on the later work of Hugh Williamson and Henry Cavendish. He never really weighs Kinnersley's contributions to electricity although he does answer the specific questions raised by previous investigators. The framework and guide to Kinnersley literature supplied by Lemay are invaluable. He is now in the best position to extend his inquiries beyond this foundation study and to provide answers to those sometimes fundamental questions about Kinnersley's role and significance that he has raised.

New York University

BROOKE HINDLE

PHILIP SCHUYLER AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN NEW YORK, 1733-1777. By *Don R. Gerlach*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1964. Pp. xxi, 358. \$6.50.) A modern, scholarly biography of Philip Schuyler, colonial politician, land speculator, Revolutionary War general, state senator, and United States congressman, has long been needed. Earlier efforts at recounting his career were either filio-pietistic or amateur. To rescue the general from undeserved oblivion, Mr. Gerlach has written the first of a projected two-volume study, following in the path blazed by Sir Lewis Namier. "An examination of this man," states the author, "offers a means by which the history of a particular era may be written with proper emphases on personal influences and on the importance of individuals." To be successful in this approach such a study must ordinarily rest upon a massive foundation of letters, memoirs, and other personal memorabilia; as one proceeds through this biography, it becomes painfully obvious that such material is lacking. Without this type of documentation the author is forced back upon the unsound studies of Benson Lossing,

Harold Eberlein, and Mary Gay Humphreys, upon a romantic memoir of Anne Grant, and upon a rehashing of the earlier scholarly contributions of Carl Becker, A. C. Flick, John F. Burns, Dorothy R. Dillon, Milton M. Klein, and George Dangerfield. The paucity of personal evidence severely damages the author's thesis of Schuyler's leading role in the politics of colonial New York. His inability to explain the maneuverings and motivations makes it difficult to prove that Schuyler was anything more than a victim of circumstances in the various battles of the 1760's and 1770's. Certainly no evidence is offered to suggest that he was a leader of the Livingston forces. While footnote counting has its limitations as an analytical tool, it is most useful in revealing the basic weakness of this volume. There are two key chapters on the elections and assemblies of 1768 and 1769 in which, according to the author, Schuyler played a leading part. Of the eighty-seven notes in Chapter iv, only twenty-seven refer to personal documents; of the eighty-two in Chapter v, only thirty-eight cite such materials. And of all the references to personal memorabilia, only a handful are letters written by Schuyler. How, then, does one place "proper emphases on personal influences and on the importance of individuals"? Perhaps Gerlach's most damaging statement is: "It is uncertain what Philip Schuyler's relations, if any, were with the extralegal movement before 1774." Certainly for a volume entitled *Philip Schuyler and the American Revolution in New York, 1733-1777*, this is a crucial issue. Failure to resolve it cripples the whole study.

Louisiana State University in New Orleans

LAWRENCE H. LEDER

CONESTOGA WAGON 1750-1850: FREIGHT CARRIER FOR 100 YEARS OF AMERICA'S WESTWARD EXPANSION. By *George Shumway et al.* ([York, Pa.:] Early American Industries Association, Inc., and George Shumway. 1964. Pp. xi, 206. \$12.50.) The authors and publishers are to be commended for having produced this handsome book. It brings together scattered fragments of information on the Conestoga wagon and relates the role this distinctive and highly functional vehicle played in the development of the early (1750-1850) West, in particular the trans-Allegheny West. The book has an antiquarian flavor. Even though Part I is called "The Conestoga Wagon's Place in History" much of this section consists of listing the characteristic features of the Conestoga wagon, inventories of dry goods stores served by Conestoga wagon freighters, reproduction of advertisements, governmental acts, lists of toll rates, names of wagoners, and some poetry. But with normal historical imagination the reader can, with these sources at his disposal, reconstruct the significant role played by the Conestoga wagon and its operators in the opening of the early West. An additional contribution has been made by salvaging information concerning the mechanical make-up and operation of the wagon and its accessories, and about the Conestoga horse. Descriptions and line drawings of the wagon parts and over-all assemblage are clearly and effectively presented. Excellent photographs lend further enrichment. The book is, in fact, a catchall of information about a sturdy Pennsylvania-made vehicle that proved highly practical as a farm wagon, served General Braddock in the Fort Duquesne campaign, carried many thousands of immigrants across the mountains into the Ohio Valley, and for about a century was the most commonly used freight wagon in the new West. Today probably not more than 150 specimens of this vehicle are to be found in museums and in private barns.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

ISAAC HICKS: NEW YORK MERCHANT AND QUAKER, 1767-1820. By *Robert A. Davison*. [Harvard Studies in Business History, Number 22.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 217. \$4.75.) The successful ventures in early New York commerce of the young Quaker, Isaac Hicks, and his surprising retirement

from business at the age of thirty-eight to devote himself to religious activities provide the major themes in Dr. Davison's brief biography. Hicks left his boyhood home in rural Long Island to make his fortune in the city at just about the time that the federal government under the new Constitution was being launched. Starting in the dry goods business, Hicks soon became diverted into the shipping and commission merchant business, dealing first in whale oil and then cotton. He opportunistically dabbled at various times in private banking, real estate, and marine insurance, completing his business career as a speculator in commodities on his own account. Honest, able, and favored by his Quaker friends, he made money in every venture. By 1805 he had accumulated a modest fortune but, to the consternation of some of his friends, suddenly retired. His remaining days were devoted to his family and the pursuit of his religious interests. The author is a careful workman and has apparently researched his subject well. He relied mainly on early Quaker meeting records and on private papers which were made available to him by a descendant of Isaac, but he also made good use of the secondary works on his subject and has successfully woven this information into his narrative. Davison, however, runs into the same problem that many others have faced in attempting to write about the economics of this period: he is frequently forced to draw conclusions and make generalizations on the basis of remarkably little evidence. The business historian will find no thorough discussion of the working structure or organization of the various firms with which Hicks was connected, and the numerous statistics are of such a scattered nature as to be of comparatively little value. The author writes well with a clear, logical, and readable style, and he has related the story of Hicks to the historical period in which he lived. One wonders, nevertheless, whether this comparatively unknown man who engaged in business for so short a time deserved a biography. The major questions with which Davison deals—was Hicks's Quaker religion of benefit to him or did it interfere with his business career and why did he retire so soon—are not apt to arouse much concern, regardless of the answers. Davison is obviously a good scholar and has a skillful pen; he deserved a better topic.

ROBERT W. TWYMAN

Bowling Green State University

ROYAL RAIDERS: THE TORIES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By *North Callahan*. (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1963. Pp. 288. \$5.00.) In *Royal Raiders* North Callahan has undertaken to describe the role of the Tories, or loyalists, in the American Revolution at greater length and with more objectivity than has been in the past accorded this much-maligned minority. His bibliography is impressive, and he has made use of sources, such as the "American Loyalist Transcripts," not heretofore consulted in their entirety by Revolutionary War historians. The book is thus a valuable contribution to a neglected aspect of Revolutionary War history. The title is, however, a misnomer. Except in such isolated instances as, for example, the exploits of David Fanning in the Carolinas, of John Butler in the Wyoming Valley, and of Benedict Arnold in Virginia, the Tories were rarely effective raiders. As Callahan points out, this was due in part to differences of opinion among themselves, with the consequent lack of organization and leadership, and in part to British reluctance to accept them into the caste-bound army system of the times as well as to well-founded British suspicion of their true loyalty. This last is hardly to be wondered at since pressure of circumstances forced individual Tories to change coats on more than one occasion, and family units were frequently split, brother against brother and father against son. The passionate enmity between Tories and patriots is well brought out in the book. The volume never becomes a cohesive whole; the subject matter itself is probably chiefly responsible. The necessity of ranging through thirteen colonies and the actions of hundreds of heterogeneous persons who never saw and were probably unaware of one another hardly promotes unity. Nonetheless one is left with an impression of uneven writing.

The opening chapter on Moore's Creek Bridge is well handled and makes a good curtain raiser. There are highly witty chapters on the role of religion, containing some delightful character sketches, and on the Battle of King's Mountain. Yet there are also many pages that read more like notes for a work in progress than like the finished product. Fascinating little vignettes are briefly limned and then let drop. This is perhaps good, for other scholars can pursue them to completion. But the skipping from embattled state to embattled state and back and forth in chronology is at times confusing even to a student of the period and will be more so to the layman. Despite such drawbacks the book represents serious research in a relatively unexplored field of Revolutionary War history, although it may be a disappointment to some who have enjoyed Callahan's more close-knit and better organized biographies of Henry Knox and Daniel Morgan.

University of Utah

M. F. TREACY

ONE NATION INDIVISIBLE: THE UNION IN AMERICAN THOUGHT, 1776-1861. By *Paul C. Nagel*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. vii, 328. \$7.00.) This is a study of American national feeling as that feeling was encompassed in the word "Union." Few Americans between 1776 and 1861 could write or speak about the Union without displaying some emotion. Thus this book is as much a history of feeling as it is a history of thought. Yet Dr. Nagel has avoided the word "nationalism"; he has used it only once. For a generation after the Revolutionary War, most Americans considered the Union as a hopeful experiment. They looked upon it as a means of preserving their security and liberty, but few regarded it as an end in itself. As long as this feeling was general, most Americans considered the nature of the Union to be tentative and its form to be modifiable. In the next two generations, however, most Americans gradually came to feel such ardent affection, even veneration, for the Union that they ceased to regard it as a means. It became an end in itself (or "Union Absolute," as Nagel likes to call it). William Ellery Channing illustrated this feeling when he said in 1835: "Most men value the Union as a means; to me it is an end. Most would preserve it for the prosperity of which it is the instrument; I love and would preserve it for its own sake." This was the ideal for which more than half a million Union men sacrificed their lives in the years 1861-1865. Yet, from the very beginning, men invariably regarded the Union as a yoke whenever they could not adjust its burdens (whether real or fancied) to suit themselves. By 1860 the southern disunionists considered this yoke intolerable, for it threatened their security and liberty. Between 1776 and 1861 endless arguments arose about the sources of the power of the Union: was its power derived from the states or from the American people? Equally endless arguments arose about the uses that, under the Constitution, could be made of this power. In addition, the term Union gradually acquired numerous embellishments and trappings of its own. Chief among these were its "proud and glorious" traditions; its varied symbols; its mission as an instrument of God's will; its close alliance with the grand design of nature; its elevation to a romantic ideal, "a mystery requiring and relying upon a spiritual response." All this is described in a book that will be meaningless, or, at best, confusing, to readers with little knowledge of American political history. The author himself says that his research has been "unabashedly impressionistic." From abundant sources, all of them printed, he has drawn hundreds of quotations. He has quoted, most liberally of all, from Presidents and congressmen, but he makes no use of judicial opinions. Such men as John Marshall and Roger Taney, even though they had much to say about the Union, never enter these pages. Good style is admittedly a matter of opinion. If a historian thinks that the style affected by *Time* magazine is admirable and if he chooses to adopt it as his own, that is his right; he should remember, however, that *Time* manages to make its meaning clear. To expect that books

shall be clearly written is one of the "unalienable Rights" of readers. This right is ignored in this volume. Many sentences are so murky that they are impenetrable; strung together in jerky fashion, they have produced a style that is singularly graceless.

Emory University

JAMES RABUN

THE AMERICAN LAW OF TREASON: REVOLUTIONARY AND EARLY NATIONAL ORIGINS. By *Bradley Chapin*. [University of Washington Publications in History.] (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 172. \$6.00.) After sketching colonial developments this study devotes about 60 per cent of its text to the American Revolution and the remainder to the years from 1789 through the trial of Burr. The book is especially useful for its attention to executive, administrative, and trial court documents. Correspondingly, the monograph makes a contribution by focusing on what was done under the law. Relevant legislation was bulky, but often opaque as evidence of prevailing values. Courts produced few opinions in treason cases; none of these was a legal classic. Thus the formal materials need such supplement as Chapter v gives in gathering evidence on "The Law in Action" against Tories and timid or opportunistic backsliders in the Revolution. The practice of these years showed a readiness to confiscate property, but a marked lack of enthusiasm for mass jailings or executions under charges of treason. This pattern balances with the considerable doctrinal emphasis on restricting definitions of treason to protect life and political freedom against abusing law to serve passion or faction. As a study of "origins," the monograph chooses a defensible terminus in the Burr story. But origins need not foretell the whole future. Some early decisions adopted English doctrine, which found treason (by "constructive" levying of war) in forcible resistance to enforcement of particular laws. The monograph seems to err in claiming, without demonstration, that this "remains good law to this day." By nonuse, by regular resort to prosecution under other heads (notably "riot"), and by critical reaction at the bar and in the courts, the offense of constructive levying of war would seem to have been rendered obsolete in our system.

University of Wisconsin

WILLARD HURST

THE DIARY AND SELECTED PAPERS OF CHIEF JUSTICE WILLIAM SMITH, 1784-1793. Volume I, THE DIARY, JANUARY 24, 1784, TO OCTOBER 5, 1785. Edited by *L. F. S. Upton*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, Volume XLI.] (Toronto: the Society. 1963. Pp. lv, 295.) William Smith is one of the minor figures of history who has enjoyed a certain fame as a power behind the throne in the province of New York before the American Revolution, and in Canada after 1786 because of his supposed influence on the governor, Lord Dorchester. One reason for the attention he has attracted lies in his private papers which have survived in the New York Public Library, in the Public Archives of Quebec, and as a part of the official correspondence of the governors in Ottawa. His plan for a closer union of the British North American colonies is well known and often cited. The present journal of his two years in London before he was appointed Chief Justice of Quebec will be disillusioning to anyone who pictured him as a shrewd lawyer and politician with wisdom and foresight on American affairs surpassing that of the British ministers of the day. When he appeared before the new Privy Council Committee for Trade in 1784 to testify on the thorny subject of continuing the orders in council that excluded Americans from the West India trade, he assured their lordships that the existing regulations would accomplish their purpose and would soon ruin the trade of the young republic. "From Maryland southward they will have staples which can command a market, but from Maryland eastward they could skeme no Voyage, under the present regulations, to any place on Earth, except in British ships." The *Diary* contains

a minimum of information or comment on events in England during two exciting years of English political history and a constant stream of idle chatter about his own affairs and his travels around the countryside. The matter that interested him most was the extraction from the British Treasury of a sum of money to cover the arrears of his salary as Chief Justice of New York—an office in which he had never really seen service. Subjects to which the *Diary* contributes and other passages that will be of interest to specialists include: two conversations with the Marquis of Lansdowne (formerly the Earl of Shelburne) in which the retired minister enlarged on his objectives during the negotiation of peace with America in 1782, tending to confirm the thesis of the late Clarence Alvord that Shelburne deliberately sacrificed the western posts and other territory in order to promote closer Anglo-American relations in the future; negotiations in London over the appointment of Sir Guy Carlton (later Lord Dorchester) as governor of all the American provinces; and conversations with a number of English intellectuals, among them Priestley and Dr. Price, and with several Frenchmen who happened to be in London, the most interesting passages dealing with Mirabeau who would appear to have sought Smith out in order to interrogate him on the progress of the Americans under a republican form of government. The volume is beautifully printed and edited in accordance with the high standards of the Champlain Society, but, unfortunately, it has no index. The introduction by L. S. F. Upton, who is at work on a biography of Smith, is full and informative. The notes are also full, but contain minor errors about persons Smith met in London and some curious omissions. There is, for instance, no note on "Count Mirabeau" when he appears, although it would be interesting for most readers to know how his visit or exile in London during these years fitted into his past and future career.

Bryn Mawr College

HELEN TAFT MANNING

JUSTICE DANIEL DISSENTING: A BIOGRAPHY OF PETER V. DANIEL, 1784-1860. By *John P. Frank*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 336. \$7.95.) Peter V. Daniel, one of the lesser lights in Supreme Court history, was appointed to the Court by Martin Van Buren in 1841 and served under Chief Justice Taney until his death in 1860. Daniel symbolized an extreme agrarian position and was ardently pro-southern and hence proslavery. The author, formerly a professor at the Yale School of Law and now in private practice, presents Daniel in all his uniqueness with the relevant historical explanations. He does so with kindness and a measure of gentle apology, and with some effort to rehabilitate him in terms of surviving ideas and legal concepts that Daniel sponsored. He notes that Daniel "may not have had good judgment, but he had courage, and he never faltered." Daniel regarded urbanization as a threat to morality and good government and took pride in the fact that Virginia was remaining rural and simple in its economy. He regarded corporations as evil in themselves and as instruments of northern capitalism for penetration and corruption of the South. He fought against development of legal fictions that permitted corporations to sue and be sued in the federal courts by virtue of diversity of citizenship. An ardent defender of states' rights, he fought against use of the commerce clause to limit state power over interstate and foreign commerce. He regarded all property rights as sacred and property rights in slaves as peculiarly so. To show Daniel as not completely outside the mainstream of American constitutional thought, the author lists areas wherein ideas compatible with his have survived, without making claim that Daniel had much to do with their survival. He notes, for example, consistency with interpretation of the contract clause. He calls attention to some current agreement as to interpretation of the commerce clause, without noting also that Alabama, Mississippi, and some other states could provide men whose current thinking would be quite compatible with that of Daniel as to the rightful position of the Negro.

It is a matter for debate whether Daniel as a statesman should be regarded as much more than a fossil with some fossilized progeny. He was indeed, as the author stresses, a man of principle, but principles are good not in themselves but only in terms of their content. This comment, however, is but a quibble. The biography has a place in filling out the history of the Supreme Court for the period in question, and also in the political history of Virginia to which the earlier half is largely devoted.

Johns Hopkins University

CARL BRENT SWISHER

HISTORY AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF *THE NEW AMERICAN PRACTICAL NAVIGATOR* AND *THE AMERICAN COAST PILOT*. By John F. Campbell. (Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum. 1964. Pp. xvi, 134. \$10.00.) This remarkable book fills with authority what has hitherto been almost a vacuum. For more than a century these two mariners' classics have been taken almost for granted, and the men mainly responsible for their creation and dissemination have been little written about, remaining comparatively unknown. The author, himself a master mariner and Panama Canal pilot who has lived with the works about which he writes, justly prides himself on the fact that he has not rehashed what others have said and that he has something new to communicate. Having spent years in the gathering of an altogether remarkable collection of the successive editions of these two great aids to navigation, down to the time when the US government took them over in 1867, he introduces his work with a pleasing chapter on the amenities of his collector's enterprise. Then he goes on to detailed, informative histories of each of the books. These are followed by brief biographical sketches of the eight men most responsible for their creation, publication, and dissemination, in each case with a bibliography. The list begins with John Hamilton Moore, whose work E. M. Blunt and Nathaniel Bowditch corrected and continued, and ends with Jonathan Ingersoll Bowditch, whose work on the *Navigator* continued until 1867. Most remarkable among these are the pages devoted to Nathaniel Bowditch and to Captain Lawrence Furlong, who now becomes a real person. Finally, we come to the detailed bibliographies of the *New Practical Navigator* (1799-1800); the *New American Practical Navigator* (1802-67); and the *American Coast Pilot* (1796-1867). These constitute the meat of the volume. To quote from the foreword by the learned director of the Peabody Museum of Salem: "[the author] has uncovered more variants and printings than any of us interested in the subject ever realized existed, and the result should be a definitive and useful work to scholars and collectors for decades to come." With its fine illustrations and handsome format and printing, the book is as attractive in appearance as it is excellent in organization and presentation.

Mystic Seaport, Connecticut

CHARLES W. DAVID

GEORGE DROUILLARD: HUNTER AND INTERPRETER FOR LEWIS AND CLARK AND FUR TRADER, 1807-1810. By M. O. Skarsten. [Western Frontiersmen Series, Number 11.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1964. Pp. 356. \$11.00 postpaid.) In the American West notable men sometimes left behind them much legend but only a slight factual record. It often happens, in such cases, that a writer is tempted to execute a full-length biography on slender data. The techniques for producing such a work about a man who left us no journals and only a handful of letters and documents are almost inescapable, and they are apparent in Skarsten's biography of Drouillard. The broad scope of Drouillard's career is well known: he served usefully as an interpreter and hunter with Lewis and Clark, then returned upriver with Manuel Lisa as a partner in the fur trade; he killed an *engagé* who was deserting, and was acquitted by a St. Louis court; his personal observations in the Yellowstone and Big Horn country enabled Clark to produce an important manuscript map. Skarsten has retold the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and of

Lisa's ventures, using Drouillard as a kind of central figure. We see him in the foreground much of the time, and every mention of the man, especially in the Lewis and Clark journals, becomes material for a sentence, a paragraph, or a page. Making something full and well integrated out of bits and pieces is not an easy task, and the author has often had to rely upon padding and conjecture. Clark's map and his notes pertaining to it, and several Drouillard documents, are reproduced in facsimile. The work is based mainly upon the Thwaites edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, accounts of Lisa by Chittenden and James, and Burton Harris' *John Colter*. Apparently it was completed before the appearance of Richard Oglesby's *Manuel Lisa*, published in 1963.

University of Illinois

DONALD JACKSON

THE REPUBLIC IN PERIL: 1812. By Roger H. Brown. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 238. \$7.50.) Whether or not the sesquicentennial of the War of 1812 has been responsible for rekindling general interest in its origins, there is no doubt that the books of Perkins and Horsman and the articles of Latimer and Risjord in the last few years have directed academic attention to the war. Professor Brown's monograph makes a useful contribution to the continuing controversy over its causes. He has examined thoroughly the role of the Twelfth Congress in the decision for war, and to this end he has gathered evidence from the archives of almost all of the seventeen states to present an impressive profile of the mind of the Congress in this crisis. The results are well organized and clearly articulated, representing a fresh view, if not a radical reinterpretation, of the origins of the war. He presents sufficient evidence to demonstrate that the divisions within the Congress were between Federalists and Republicans rather than between sections. At the same time, he hopes he has banished the term war hawks to the "realm of partisan misunderstanding and historical mythology." Clay and Calhoun did not support the idea of war until late in 1811, some months after Madison had reached his decision. Clintonians and other antiadministration Republicans notwithstanding, most Republicans stood together on the war issue. If there were party differences, they were over the administration's strategy, not over its policies. He is convinced that the Republicans accepted the administration's verdict that war, though regrettable, was unavoidable. Brown's major conclusion is that Madison and his party went to war to preserve republican institutions from destruction. Further submission to Great Britain would demonstrate to America and to the world both the incapacity of republicanism and the necessity for such alternatives as Hamiltonian autocracy or division of the Union into several republics to replace the federal system. While expressions of this sort may have been uttered frequently, it is questionable whether the author's evidence suggests that the foregoing explanation of the coming of war was more convincing than the many others listed in his volume. Nor is it clear that fears for the future of the republic as such can be properly separated from fears for national independence or for national honor. Neither Brown nor his sources spell out the consequences for republicanism that would follow refusal to fight in 1812. It should be noted, however, that the tone of the book is anything but dogmatic in its attribution of causes. The work deserves the attention of all students of the early national period.

Kent State University

LAWRENCE S. KAPLAN

THE ANGEL AND THE SERPENT: THE STORY OF NEW HARMONY. By William E. Wilson. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1964. Pp. xiv, 242. \$6.95.) In this history of the community of New Harmony, Indiana, William Wilson sees "the angel" as the ideals of communitarianism and "the serpent" as the hard facts of human nature to which the angel eventually succumbs. The idealism is, first, that

of George Rapp, founder of the Harmony Society, planting the kingdom of God on the Indiana frontier, and, second, that of Robert Owen, humanitarian industrialist, subsequently bringing the good society, secular style, to the same site. The serpent takes on variously the guise of self-righteousness, of wealth, of idleness, and of harsh frontier conditions coupled with, at least in Owen's case, an intellectual opaqueness before the facts of community life. One of the most persistent problems in the historiography of utopianism is the relationship between religious and secular experiments. The happiest studies are those (like Arthur Bestor's *Backwoods Utopias*) describing one or the other separately. In dealing perforce with both strands, Wilson de-emphasizes comparative judgment, but unifies his book instead by means of the New Harmony site, the physical community itself, even including some twenty-five pages on the village after the Rapp community had left and the following Owen experiment had collapsed. Except for an appendix of two Rappite documents and a highly selective bibliography, the book does not include scholarly apparatus. References sometimes occur in the text, but on the whole the work lacks documentation. There are, however, interesting sections that compare sources, but even these passages would have been strengthened by documentation. Although most historians might agree with Wilson that "the ultimate truth about human beings has never been found in a cross index of references," complete documentation must be defended as at least one adjunct to that truth. If there is any bias in this book it is on the side of Owen and his followers, charming in their impracticality. Wilson would probably not be averse to using Niebuhr's designations and labeling the Owenites as the children of light and the Rappites as the children of darkness, but he would not follow Niebuhr in finding them equally misguided in their extreme views of human nature. Though the book lacks those perspectives which might have placed these experiments in the wider ferment of sectarian and secular communitarianism, from the viewpoint of the community in which these two groups once resided the book is a crisp account.

University of California, Riverside

ROBERT V. HINE

THE LIBERATOR: WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. A BIOGRAPHY. By *John L. Thomas*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1963. Pp. viii, 502. \$8.50.) The reputation of William Lloyd Garrison continues to fluctuate with the tides of current interpretation. For more than half a century after his death in 1879, historians generally credited the Boston editor with founding and dominating the antislavery movement. Indeed, in view of the fulsome eulogies of early memoirs and biographies, there were few who questioned the infallibility of "Abolition's Pope." But ultimately other source materials and modern scholarship added new clarity. In the 1930's, when G. H. Barnes and D. L. Dumond impeached Garrison's leadership and constructive role in antislavery, a pervasive anti-Garrisonian vogue developed. Finally, influenced by the ideological issues of the last two decades, there has been more sympathy for abolitionist "fanaticism." Garrison has thus appeared worthy of re-evaluation, and contemporary authors are rescuing him from the derogation of the Barnes-Dumond thesis. Projected against this context, J. L. Thomas has taken a middle ground position. Portraying the Boston editor as the personification of the nation's antislavery conscience, he has stressed his contribution to the moral absolutism that helped generate the Civil War and Negro emancipation. In long-range perspective, moreover, he has argued that Garrison's militant nonconformity created an important precedent for the American traditions of minority dissent and civil liberty. But *The Liberator* is by no means dedicated to an uncritical rehabilitation of its subject. Indeed, the author seems overly impressed by Garrison's deficiencies, both as a journalist and as an abolitionist chieftain, and he has done less than justice to his role in enlisting many of the paladins of the antislavery crusade. There also are animadversions upon Garrison's doctrinaire

emancipation propaganda and upon his "Come-outerism" which alienated religious and political support for abolitionism. Thomas concludes, moreover, that Garrison's moral zealotry "cut directly across the conservative pattern of American society to revolution, secession and Civil War." The volume also points up the anticlimax in the Boston reformer's career—his failure to perceive the postwar necessity for bulwarking the civil rights of the freedmen. It was tragic that when the North was ready to listen to him, Garrison had nothing constructive to say. Content with the uprooting of slavery, he moved into retirement without comprehending that the real work of the abolitionists had been left undone. *The Liberator* succeeds rather well in evoking the social milieu of Garrisonian reformism, but it is less satisfactory in dealing with Garrison's personality. Until his motivations, frustrations, and behavioral contradictions are better explained, the Boston editor will remain a controversial problem for historians. Thomas has provided useful insights concerning Garrison's life and times, but R. B. Nye's *William Lloyd Garrison and the Humanitarian Reformers* remains the most judicious treatment of the subject.

University of Rhode Island

ROMAN J. ZORN

T. BUTLER KING OF GEORGIA. By Edward M. Steel, Jr. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 204. \$5.00.) Massachusetts-born Thomas Butler King was one of the leaders of the southern Whigs in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. During his long and varied career as cotton planter, state legislator, railroad and canal promoter, United States congressman, and naval and merchant marine reformer, King moved from an earlier belief in states' rights and nullification to support for a protective tariff, the United States Bank, and internal improvements. As chairman of the Congressional Naval Affairs Committee in the 1840's he worked diligently for an increase in the size of the navy and for a two-ocean network of subsidized mail steamship lines, and whether in state or national politics "supported the alliance of business and government in the development of transportation facilities." An active supporter of President Zachary Taylor, King served as the President's representative to California in 1849 and encouraged organization of a new state government there, action that hurt his political standing in the South. Rewarded by the Fillmore administration with the collectorship of San Francisco, King lived briefly in California, but returned to the East in 1853 and became one of the organizers and promoters of the Southern Pacific Railroad. During the Civil War he served as special commissioner to Europe and there advocated the cause of the Confederacy. His death in 1864 closed a lifetime of political adventure. The present study of King's public career, based largely upon the voluminous King Papers at the University of North Carolina, is a welcome addition to the political and economic history of the mid-nineteenth century. King himself was never more than a secondary figure on the national stage, but his career parallels that of many who championed Hamiltonian policies. As Professor Steel notes in a middle chapter, King's story is in many ways a preview of the Gilded Age, and the present volume adds to the growing store of information available on Whiggery and its influence in American affairs. Steel's work is skillfully written and adequately researched. Regrettably, the location of the footnotes at the close of the book rather than the bottom of the page and the weak index will limit somewhat the utility of the volume for serious students.

Lamar State College of Technology

RALPH A. WOOSTER

NAVAHO EXPEDITION: JOURNAL OF A MILITARY RECONNAISSANCE FROM SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO, TO THE NAVAHO COUNTRY MADE IN 1849 BY LIEUTENANT JAMES H. SIMPSON. Edited and Annotated by Frank McNitt. [The American Exploration and Travel Series, Number 43.] (Norman: Uni-

versity of Oklahoma Press. 1964. Pp. lxxix, 296. \$5.95.) In August and September 1849 Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington, military governor of New Mexico, led a column of troops westward from Santa Fe to the country of the Navaho Indians. The objective was to intimidate these unruly nomads of the territory so recently annexed by the United States from Mexico and, if possible, to bring them into treaty relations with their new Great Father. Incidentally, the expedition revealed much about a land little known to its new masters. Responsible for this addition to geographical knowledge was Lieutenant James H. Simpson, Washington's topographical officer, whose journal of the march, enriched by maps and illustrations prepared by the brothers Richard and Edward Kern, was published in 1852. Simpson was but one of several army officers whose reports and journals sketched in the details of the Navaho country in the 1850's. But his was one of the earliest and, because he was a remarkably inquisitive and observant traveler, one of the best. The Washington expedition visited, and Simpson described, most of the prominent features of present northwestern New Mexico and northeastern Arizona. He also recorded the details of an expedition of some importance in the unfolding story of United States relations with the Navaho Indians. Frank McNitt is well qualified to edit the Simpson journal. Author of a biography of Richard Wetherill and a history of Navaho traders, he knows the country and its people and is intimately familiar with its historical, anthropological, and geographical literature. In addition, journal in hand, he retraced the entire route of the expedition in 1961. The annotations are therefore rich in comment and enlargement on Simpson's remarks. A seventy-nine-page introduction identifies the participants and sets the stage, while an epilogue of equal length summarizes their later careers and chronicles the unhappy history of the Navahos in the 1850's. Appendixes set forth several related documents. The book is a worth-while addition to "The American Exploration and Travel Series."

National Park Service

ROBERT M. UTLEY

GOLD FLEET FOR CALIFORNIA: FORTY-NINERS FROM AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND. By *Charles Bateson*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1964. Pp. 172. \$7.50.) Charles Bateson, Australian scholar and author of *Convict Ships, 1787-1868*, has written this useful account of the gold rush from the Antipodes to California in 1849-1850. It is based on customhouse records, contemporary newspapers, and some manuscript collections, especially the Towns Papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Bateson has worked carefully through materials in Australia and Tasmania and has gathered information by correspondence from New Zealand, Hawaii, and California. After an initial and occasionally inaccurate sketch of the beginnings of the gold excitement in California, the author turns to the main theme of his book, travel from Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand to California in 1849 and 1850. During this time some 213 vessels sailed for San Francisco (nearly half from Sydney with Tasmania, New Zealand, Adelaide, and Melbourne following in that order), and he estimates that they carried between seven and eight thousand passengers. Chapters of the book deal with the beginnings of the trade, the character of the transpacific voyages, types of emigrants, joint-stock companies and cooperative ventures, and, finally, with the turning of the tide of travel after the Australian gold discoveries. Bateson writes well, emphasizes specific examples for which he has evidence, and does not indulge in airy generalizations. There is no bibliography, but there are "footnotes" at the end of the volume, and these give a good idea of the sources used and of available materials on the subject. A series of appendixes list sailings for California from Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand for 1849 and 1850 with data as to type of ship, length of voyage, and number of passengers. The book is handsomely illustrated by reproductions of paintings, prints, and photographs of ships,

ports, and persons. It is a welcome and important addition to the bibliography of the California gold rush and transpacific trade and communication.

Pomona College

JOHN HASKELL KEMBLE

CALIFORNIA'S RELUCTANT PRELATE: THE LIFE AND TIMES OF RIGHT REVEREND THADDEUS AMAT, C.M. (1811-1878). By *Francis J. Weber*. (Los Angeles: Dawson Book Shop. 1964. Pp. xv, 234. \$6.75.) *California's Reluctant Prelate* is the biography of the Right Reverend Thaddeus Amat, C.M., first bishop of the Catholic diocese of Monterey-Los Angeles, founded in 1853. After reading of Amat's activities from his arrival in California in 1855 until his death in 1878, one wonders if the term "aggressive" might not be substituted for "reluctant." Certainly his administrative conflicts with the Franciscans at Santa Barbara and Bishop Alemany of San Francisco would support this view. The author then describes the construction of churches, schools, orphanages, and infirmaries, the difficulties of staffing them, and Amat's influence at the First Vatican Council. The last chapter, however, dismisses many important subjects with but a single sentence. The author seems to be writing for the clergy and religious of southern California, for he includes several quotations and phrases in Latin and several ecclesiastical terms with which most readers would not be familiar. His topical organization would also be advantageous for group reading, but it so fragments the story that the individual reader can discover little progress toward a recognizable goal. The book also contains many technical but disturbing features such as the constant use of *op. cit.* to refer to any work previously cited, regardless of the number of intervening chapters or pages, and the incomplete bibliography which frequently does not contain such a reference. The author did extensive research in fourteen archives, but has not developed a clear picture of the churchman who put the Catholic Church in southern California on a solid foundation.

Sacramento State College

JOSEPH A. MCGOWAN

PIERCE M. B. YOUNG: THE WARWICK OF THE SOUTH. By *Lynwood M. Holland*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1964. Pp. viii, 259. \$6.00.) Believing that an epoch can be illuminated through the study of the life and times of a lesser but representative historical figure, Professor Holland has rescued from oblivion Pierce M. B. Young, "perhaps the most nearly forgotten major general from Georgia in the Confederate army." Fortunately the author gained access to a large family collection of manuscripts and other source material in private possession. Born at Spartanburg, South Carolina, in 1836, Young was early removed to northwest Georgia, where he grew up, residing after 1850 at "Walnut Plantation," near Cartersville. Educated at the old Georgia Military Institute, the youth went to West Point in 1857. There this "rebel at heart" witnessed the climax of the sectional controversy, a fact that impelled him (not without qualms) to quit the academy in 1861. Hurrying south, Young at length obtained a second lieutenant's commission from President Davis. Well trained and temperamentally fitted for combat, "the gallant Young" found his métier as an intrepid, dashing, handsome Confederate officer, rising to the rank of brigadier and at last major general. Holland's Civil War chapters are among his best, in which the reader follows the brilliant military career of this fearless "Beau Brummell" in campaigns from the Seven Days to surrender to General Sherman in North Carolina. Grim war was sometimes relieved for Young by gay social life, flirtations, and visits home. Life behind the lines is presented in realistic terms, especially as the fortunes of the Confederacy waned. When Young entered politics in the Reconstruction era, his war record, good looks, and engaging personality won him election to Congress in the troubled years 1868, 1870, and 1872. Eventually seated in the House, he championed restoration of white rule in the South, but failed to be renominated in

1874. Thereafter Young intermittently supervised his unprofitable farm and dabbled unsuccessfully in business, striving doggedly to stave off his and his family's creditors. Politically allied with the Georgia "triumvirate" (Brown-Gordon-Colquitt) and Henry W. Grady, Young became a familiar figure at state and national party conventions and often spoke before Confederate veterans' meetings. President Cleveland rewarded him by two diplomatic appointments, in Russia and in Central America, where Young served in routine fashion. Despite the book's often moving description of southern social and economic conditions in the period 1860-1896, historians will be disturbed by its inadequate documentation and frequent factual errors. More serious is the failure of subject and author to fathom the economic basis of *post-bellum* southern politics that lay behind the windy oratorical paeans to wartime valor and noble southern womanhood. Finally, one may doubt whether Young's career earned for him the sobriquet "The Warwick of the South."

Washington and Lee University

OLLINGER CRENSHAW

THE EMPTY SLEEVE: A BIOGRAPHY OF LUCIUS FAIRCHILD. By *Sam Ross*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Wisconsin Civil War Centennial Commission. 1964. Pp. x, 291. \$5.50.) In this biography Ross seeks, with some success, to correct a superficial impression left by some writers that General Lucius Fairchild was an "insincere demagogue." Fairchild, who lost an arm during the first day's fighting at Gettysburg and subsequently served three terms as governor of Wisconsin, is pictured by Ross as a man with a sound reputation for integrity and honesty who was deeply concerned with education and social and economic needs. Fairchild was obviously a zealot in politics who saw things mainly as black or white. Ross describes him as "the High Priest of American patriotism," especially in his role of leadership in the GAR and the Loyal Legion. Fairchild's service during the Civil War, from April 1861 to July 1863, is dealt with rather briefly. The *Official Records of the Rebellion* were, unfortunately, not utilized. The reader does secure, however, an understanding of Fairchild's view of the war as a holy war, and its tendency, largely through the death of comrades-in-arms, to deepen his bitterness toward the South. He was actually a sincere defender of loyalty over treason for the duration of his career, a career that obviously owed much to his war service. Fairchild's connections with Radical Republicanism, his lobbying activities for railway promotion and a Fox-Wisconsin Canal, and his contacts with party and pressure group leaders are well described. Ross portrays the general as more of a follower and figurehead than a leader. As governor, however, he almost singlehandedly succeeded in making internal improvements a major political issue in Wisconsin. His career in diplomacy, after 1872, led Hamilton Fish to refer to him as "perhaps the best man in the Consular Service." This is a sound and readable appraisal of a controversial and largely neglected political leader. Based mainly on careful research in the voluminous Fairchild Papers of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, it provides a valuable contribution to a clearer understanding of Wisconsin politics, especially during the postwar era.

Elmhurst College

ROYAL J. SCHMIDT

THE ZOLLIE TREE. By *Raymond E. Myers*. Foreword by *Robert Emmett McDowell*. [Filson Club Publication Second Series.] (Louisville, Ky.: Filson Club Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 200. \$6.00.) On January 19, 1862, in the rugged wilds of southeastern Kentucky a Confederate army of approximately four thousand troops under General George B. Crittenden attacked a Federal army of the same size under General George H. Thomas. The battle, one of the first important engagements of the Civil War and the first large

clash in the western theater, became known as Mill Springs or Fishing Creek or Logan's Cross Roads. The Federals were victorious, and as a result the eastern flank of the Confederate line in Kentucky collapsed and had to be drawn in all the way to Bowling Green. Although Mill Springs obviously had some strategic significance, it is not a familiar battle, even to the buffs, and it is remembered chiefly because of the dramatic death of one of its participants. General Felix K. Zollikoffer, commanding the lead brigade of the Confederate force and exercising what little over-all command there was among the southerners, shortly after the start of the battle rode up to a Federal unit, which he supposed to be one of his own, and was fatally shot by a Federal officer or by several Federals. If little has been known about Mill Springs, less has been known about Zollikoffer. Raymond E. Myers has filled the gap with a pleasant little biography. Zollikoffer was born in Tennessee of noble Swiss ancestry. Before the war he was a Whig journalist and congressman, and when the war came he, like other politicians, aspired to military glory. He accepted a commission as brigadier general first in the Tennessee service and then in the Confederate Army. Nothing in his short career suggests that he had much military capacity. Myers' footnote and bibliography form will not satisfy members of the American Historical Association, but the book as a whole, and especially the section on Mill Springs, is a competent contribution. The unusual title refers to the tree under which Zollikoffer fell.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

THE SEVEN DAYS: THE EMERGENCE OF LEE. By *Clifford Dowdey*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1964. Pp. 380. \$7.50.) Soldiers and scholars alike have long realized that the Seven Days' Battle at Richmond in the spring of 1862, when the North chose McClellan to administer a lethal blow at the Confederate capital and the South chose Lee to thwart him, was a moment of crisis. Clifford Dowdey has written a book and a theory about those days. The former is lengthy and the latter provocative: "the failure to win decisively at the Seven Days ultimately meant that Lee would be among those who lost everything—even the honor of the cause of independence." Dowdey sees those Seven Days as a crucible in which Lee "molded an army that would be man for man the greatest fighting force ever on the continent." But his success in that historic victory was not (as Lee wrote to his wife) "as great or as complete as I could have desired." The Federal army should not only have been defeated; it should have been destroyed. Despite his long and loving looks at Lee, Dowdey is at his best in this book when dealing with Stonewall Jackson. Drawing on recent studies of stress (conveniently listed in a bibliography), he applies twentieth-century concepts to explain nineteenth-century enigmas. Jackson did not act, at certain critical points, because he was literally exhausted. He had been under stress continuously for fifty-eight days when he reached Hundley's Corner on June 26. His "total organism was exposed to the prolonged stress of danger." He reached a stage of stress and fatigue that is now called an "apathetic plateau"; the military history of the war was shaped accordingly. Reiterating a notion well developed in the work of Douglas Southall Freeman, Dowdey puts major stress on Lee's ability to form and maintain team spirit in his army. His chief goal was "to develop the subordinates whose cooperation, through initiative and discretion, could be depended upon in his system of careful strategic planning and loose tactical control." Such a grid makes it easy to separate the sheep from the goats. Those who fall in with Lee's over-all picture are good; those who balk (like, alas, President Jefferson Davis) are bad. Thus we end the book reconciled to the fact that the story after 1862 is one of "an increasingly neurotic President" depriving Lee "of all freedom of maneuver." This is the third volume in Dowdey's story of the Civil War. It does not measure up to the best of those three, *Death of a Nation*, a poignant eulogy of the Confederate dream. Poor

proofreading and needless repetition mar the latest volume, and we cannot escape the feeling that in order to make his point about the Seven Days, he has overstated it.

Wemyss Foundation

MARSHALL W. FISHWICK

HJALMAR HJORTH BOYESEN. By *Clarence A. Glasrud*. [Authors Series, Volume I.] (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1963. Pp. ix, 245. \$5.50.) This book is the first of a proposed "Authors Series" to be published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. Boyesen (1848-1895) is portrayed not only as a professor of European literature at Cornell and Columbia but as a realistic novelist, a literary critic, and a social Darwinist. He became a protégé of William Dean Howells. Together they helped to prepare the way for men like Frank Norris and Hamlin Garland. Although Boyesen emigrated from Norway at the age of twenty-one, he attained a mastery of the English language and made it his medium. His combined works would have run to about thirty-five volumes. Himself a professor of literature, Glasrud writes with artistry and comprehension, without sacrificing technical analysis. There are invaluable side lights on Boyesen's interpretations of Goethe, Schiller, and Ibsen. The social and intellectual historian should find the contents rewarding. The bibliography is a contribution in itself, five pages being required for the published works of the neglected Boyesen. Utilized extensively for the first time are his personal papers. Editing and indexing are of the highest quality.

Wisconsin State University, Oshkosh

ARLOW W. ANDERSEN

CHILDREN WEST: A HISTORY OF THE PLACING-OUT SYSTEM OF THE NEW YORK CHILDREN'S AID SOCIETY, 1853-1890. By *Miriam Z. Langsam*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the Department of History, University of Wisconsin. 1964. Pp. x, 91. \$2.25.) Charles Loring Brace (1826-1890) was an early student of the culture of poverty in the United States and a pivotal figure in the history of child welfare. As secretary of the Children's Aid Society of New York City, Brace sought to break the vicious circle of poverty—and prevent the rise of "the dangerous classes"—by developing comprehensive programs for sheltering, instructing, and promoting the moral and physical health of neglected boys and girls. *Children West*, a product of the History of Philanthropy Project at the University of Wisconsin, concentrates on the best-known feature of Brace's work, the removal of homeless or needy children from the metropolis to foster homes in other parts of the country. The book is disappointing only in that it tells more about Brace and the CAS than about children sent westward. It is particularly helpful in analyzing financial affairs of the society and in reviewing criticisms of Brace's efforts made by Roman Catholics and welfare officers in midwestern and southern states. Several matters require correction: Amos Warner's comments on Brace should be taken from the 1894 (rather than the 1918) edition of *American Charities*, and a distinction should be made between the first (1872) and third (1880) edition of *The Dangerous Classes of New York*. I was surprised to find myself cited as one of Brace's critics.

Ohio State University

ROBERT H. BREMNER

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1854-1964. By *George H. Mayer*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 563. \$9.75.) Professor Mayer set out in this book to portray "the development of the [Republican] party as a national organization." Its opening chapter, "The Golden Age of Politics," gives promise that his will be a fresh examination of that complex institution, the American political party. And the impressive display of manuscript citations in the notes suggests that searching scholarship will

be joined to penetrating analysis. The book does make some contributions. Of particular value is Mayer's new look at the interplay between Republican senatorial standpatters and insurgents in the progressive period. It is refreshing to have an account that proceeds from the assumption that both groups were motivated by political self-interest. The author also has worth-while things to say about the party politics of the Harrison-McKinley era, and on the split between Landon and Hoover after 1936. But for the most part this work is little more than a sprightly retelling of the traditional story of national party politics since the 1850's. Presidential nominations (Democratic as well as Republican), elections, and major national issues pass in review in unweighted, all too familiar detail. More seriously, the author ignores some of the important revisionist interpretations in recent American political historiography. His treatment of the Reconstruction era takes almost no account of the work of C. Vann Woodward and Eric McKittrick. Similarly, Theodore Roosevelt's economic policies are described simply as those of a trust buster out "to harass big business"; the more attenuated relationship explored by Richard Hofstadter, John Blum, John Garraty, and myself is ignored. Nor does the stance adopted by the author toward his subject—one that might be termed a benevolent cynicism—lead him to a satisfactory analytical framework of his own. The absence of interpretation becomes most painful when he deals with the primary development of the GOP in this century: its evolution from a party of nationalism, active government, and normal majority support into one of state and local primacy, laissez faire, and customary defeat. The author recognizes that since 1932 the party has experienced "long years of frustration." But he does not attempt a serious explanation as to how and why this state of affairs came about. This book leaves our need for analytical treatment of America's national party organizations unsatisfied. Nor is its primarily descriptive account original or incisive enough to stand as a substantial contribution on its own merits.

Brandeis University

MORTON KELLER

PROFILE OF A PROFESSION: A HISTORY OF THE MICHIGAN STATE DENTAL ASSOCIATION. By *Robert M. Warner*. (Detroit: Wayne State University Press. 1964. Pp. xii, 296. \$7.95.) This volume has two claims on the attention of historians. First, it relates the history of a professional organization that exerts a dominant influence over an important facet of public health. The way in which the profession executes that public trust concerns all who would understand modern society. Second, the book reminds us that a great deal of power and initiative in much of American life still resides in the states. Robert M. Warner has here pioneered in a field almost untouched by professional historians. He has explored the documentary sources and interviewed many of the chief characters in the later part of his story. Fourteen topical chapters describe the principal concerns of the Michigan State Dental Association through its centurylong career. Organizational matters, educational questions, efforts to influence legislation, relations with government, and the problems of broadening the availability of dental care are all treated. The topical approach has produced some confusing swings back and forth over the years, but generally the descriptions will satisfy Warner's dental readers. Warner's historian colleagues may deplore the fact that the book was written so exclusively from the association's point of view. They may feel that he should have probed more deeply the other interests involved in controversies over professional policy and status. They may regret that the author did not explore more fully the relations between the association and the various national societies that supposedly decide professional aspirations. They will nevertheless be grateful to him for providing a valuable aid toward understanding the role of professions in American society.

Loyola University, Chicago

ROBERT W. McCLUGGAGE

J. H. GARRISON AND DISCIPLES OF CHRIST. By *William E. Tucker*. (St. Louis, Mo.: Bethany Press. 1964. Pp. 278. \$5.00.) James Harvey Garrison was associated with the St. Louis *Christian-Evangelist* and its predecessors during the long span from 1869 to 1931, first as coeditor and editor and then as a featured regular contributor. An influential Disciples of Christ journal from its inception, the *Christian-Evangelist* passed under the sponsorship of a semiofficial denominational board in 1912. Tucker's reflective, well-written study amply establishes Garrison as "one of the two or three most significant" Disciple leaders of his generation. Eschewing the legalistic primitivism toward which Campbell's spiritual descendants seemed drawn—and especially their penchant for scorning every adjustment as a falling away, every dissent as an apostasy—Garrison labored to steer at least a segment of the movement into the main currents of modern Protestant thought and practice. He gave but scant attention to that argument of arguments which so excited and absorbed many of his associates—the argument over use of organ music in worship services. (Tucker is sure that "human slavery in America caused Disciples less concern than the question of instrumental music.") Garrison preferred to ponder the larger issues with which responsible leaders in rival bodies also grappled: the implications of new scientific knowledge and scholarly speculations, the social gospel, the need for closer intercongregational and interdenominational cooperation, the challenges of urbanization, and the training of the clergy. Lacking prelates, presbyteries, or any coercive machinery exterior to local congregations, Disciples in the aggregate were subject only to such guidance as their leaders might exert through example and persuasion. Nor did they always heed the counsel of the learned and wise. This volume is an admirable case study of the forceful, enlightened exercise of leadership in a group so constituted.

Texas Western College

KENNETH K. BAILEY

THE EARLY JEWISH COMMUNITY OF BOSTON'S NORTH END: A SOCIOLOGICALLY ORIENTED STUDY OF AN EASTERN EUROPEAN JEWISH IMMIGRANT COMMUNITY IN AN AMERICAN BIG-CITY NEIGHBORHOOD BETWEEN 1870 AND 1900. By *Arnold A. Wieder*. With an introduction by *Jerome Himelhoch*. ([Waltham, Mass.:] Brandeis University. 1962. Pp. 100. \$3.50.) This thin volume judiciously analyzes interviews especially with twenty octogenarian sons of successful Jewish emigrants from the triangle roughly inside Hanover, Prince, and Charlestown Streets, Boston. The author, a rabbi and Hebrew teacher, has recapitulated in his twentieth-century life the basic pattern of his informants. He concludes that the first generation immigrants, living amid Irish, Italians, and Yankees, established the pattern of acculturation. They mediated the American-Jewish way to the large-scale Jewish immigration of 1900–1914. Wieder modifies the stereotype of first and second generation tension by asserting that the secular tendencies of the second were overt manifestations of what their parents often condoned. Peddling and long hours in small shops (except on the Sabbath) left education and religion more in the mother's control. Further research can obtain more accurate and fuller information from newspapers; folklore ("Solomon Levi"); ship registers; the manuscript census; land, court, tax, school, and other public records. A contemporary map (no reference) and photographs, a glossary of Lithuanian colloquialisms, a Hebrew religious document of 1882, and two recent filiopietistic articles enhance the volume. It lacks index and schedule of interview questions and does not locate the tapes and transcripts of interviews (Brandeis University?).

University of Vermont

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

HAYES: THE DIARY OF A PRESIDENT, 1875–1881, COVERING THE DISPUTED ELECTION, THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE BE-

GINNING OF CIVIL SERVICE. Edited by *T. Harry Williams*. (New York: David McKay Company. 1964. Pp. xlv, 329. \$6.50.) It would be apparent to any informed person that a diary of Rutherford B. Hayes, carefully edited and prepared for publication as this one is and covering the years 1875-1881, is important in American historiography because of the bearing it may have on the contested election of 1876-1877 and on Reconstruction. But this diary is enlightening as to questions that go beyond the notorious election and Reconstruction. Some of the other matters that one should consider as he reads this diary are the money and currency question in the post-Civil War era, labor and the depression, the future prospects of the Republican party, the changing attitudes of reformers in the Gilded Age, and the influence and methods of the executive in the late nineteenth century. Despite frequent deletions and corrections in the diary made by Hayes himself, which the editor has wisely left intact, there is little evidence that the diary is fabricated or aimed at future historians. Although Hayes was an ambitious man, his ambition was tempered with a comfortable and satisfying family life, which enabled him to take high political office or leave it. He did not seek a second term; nor was he discomfited by the fact that his party did not urge it on him. What, then, does this diary reveal about Hayes as candidate and as President? He appears to have been far removed from the maneuvering in Washington and in the South that ultimately made him President. It may well be this absence of contact with the actual developments that kept the Republican party in control of the executive branch of the government which accounts for his naïveté about the nature and conditions of the compromise that brought him to the White House. He did see that the emergence of a solid South would endanger the future of the Republican party, but he did not know how to prevent it. But it would be an oversimplification to charge him with hypocrisy because he expressed surprise that the "Constitutional provisions which guaranteed equal citizenship have been . . . nullified," at a time when, as a result of the compromise, the fate of the Negro had been turned over to the white South. It does appear, however, that Hayes did not really know what the compromise was all about. Despite an occasional reference to "hard times," the diary reflects little or no grasp of the implications of the depression that beset the nation when Hayes came to office. On the currency question, he was a doctrinaire "hard money" advocate. His diary shows him to have been a man of scrupulous honesty, of somewhat patrician attitudes, and not fully comprehending the great issues of his era. It places him closer to the Liberal Republicans of 1872 than do the secondary sources covering this period. Indeed, it might be said that Hayes provided the connecting link between Liberal Republicanism and mugwumpism. The diary, based on a typed copy of the original manuscript at the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Fremont, Ohio, is an important addition to the published historical literature on the post-Civil War era. Its value is enhanced by Williams' excellent introduction, a chronology of the Hayes administration, and a *dramatis personae*.

Alton, Illinois

PATRICK W. RIDDLEBERGER

WHISTLE IN THE PINEY WOODS: PAUL BREMOND AND THE HOUSTON, EAST AND WEST TEXAS RAILWAY. By *Robert S. Maxwell*. [Publication Series, Volume VII, Number 2.] ([Houston:] Texas Gulf Coast Historical Association. 1963. Pp. 77.) In 1875, when Paul Bremond started to build the narrow-gauge Houston, East and West Texas Railway into the isolated Piney Woods of eastern Texas, there were less than 75,000 miles of railroad in the nation. Twenty-five years later, when the Southern Pacific acquired the 230-mile road, more than 1,200 different companies were operating nearly 200,000 miles of railway. Like hundreds of other promoters of his generation, Bremond was long on dreams, but short on practical railroad experience and hard cash. He constructed the line, but with little outside financial help, and soon

he was badly in debt. Receivership came to the HE&WT even before the last spike was driven in 1886, and critics were soon describing a ride on the bumpy road as "Hell Either Way Taken." Friends of Bremond and loyal employees instead insisted that the initials meant "How Easy We Travel." This small volume is mainly directed toward the problems of construction and receivership prior to the rehabilitation of the line by the Southern Pacific. Two maps and several illustrations accompany the text. Professor Maxwell has given us a straightforward and fairly objective story of a smalltime nineteenth-century railroad builder whose endeavors were ultimately to benefit his state.

Purdue University

JOHN F. STOVER

THE NEGRO IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1876-1894. By *Frenise A. Logan*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 244. \$6.00.) Professor Logan's study of the Negro in North Carolina after Reconstruction invites comparison between his findings and those of similar studies of other southern states, especially those of Vernon L. Wharton on Mississippi, George B. Tindall on South Carolina, and Charles E. Wynes on Virginia. Like these historians, Logan concludes that, bad as the Negro's plight was in this period, it was in several respects less oppressive and proscriptive than it was to become in the twentieth century. The overthrow of Reconstruction in North Carolina, he writes, did not "result immediately in repression of the Negroes." He finds that Negroes "continued to vote in large numbers" and that during the eighteen years investigated they elected fifteen Negroes to the upper house of the North Carolina legislature and fifty-two to the lower house. During the same period "at least twenty Negro newspapers were founded in the state," and Negroes played significant roles in other areas of the economic life of the state. Segregation was "not legalized or codified" in the state and was in fact "often ignored by whites and Negroes alike," much more than was later the case. "In comparison with the Negroes of other southern states," concludes Logan, "the Negroes of North Carolina were still in a relatively favorable position" at the end of this period. In spite of white opposition, equality of educational opportunity "was more nearly realized between the races in North Carolina than in most of the other states of the former Confederacy." Negro illiteracy declined from 77.4 per cent in 1880 to 47.6 per cent in 1900. Lynching was markedly more infrequent in North Carolina than elsewhere in the South, and Negroes appear to have put up a more spirited fight for civil rights than in some of the states. Logan does not neglect the less fortunate experiences of his people and relates in full and depressing detail their misfortunes and disadvantages in employment, in the courts, in agriculture, and in their discouraging cultural strivings. He has evidently searched the records diligently. His proofreading has not always been so diligent, nor has his checking of historical references. The contribution he has made is, however, a substantial and valuable one.

Yale University

C. VANN WOODWARD

AN EPISODE IN ANTI-CATHOLICISM: THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION. By *Donald L. Kinzer*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1964. Pp. ix, 342. \$6.50.) During a generation when a distinguished British Catholic historian, Lord Acton, risked excommunication to show his concern for the threat to freedom in Catholic authoritarianism, the APA arose in less urbane circles in the United States to exploit similar fears. Kinzer's judicious treatment is based upon government records; APA, Catholic, and general periodicals, newspapers, and pamphlets; manuscript collections; theses and dissertations; and secondary sources. Bibliographical notes and appendixes constitute a fourth of the book. Analysis is made of the APA as a secret order and as one federated with other groups with similar objectives: restriction of immigration; denial of government support for religious schools, including those for Indians; reform in municipal government; and even woman suffrage. Its influence in

the various states and the national capital is meticulously traced. Organized in 1887, it flourished in the Middle West and East, and later in the South and West. Reaching a peak in 1895, it rapidly declined. Its power was due partly to its claim that it spoke for a following much larger than its membership. Perhaps the author has failed to distinguish between an avoidance of sectarianism and an espousal of secularism when he states that in the United States "secularization proved to be the apparent wish of the majority in educational matters." A large portion of Americans felt that the schools should reflect a pragmatic consensus, as teaching was widely based on the ethical principles of the Judaeo-Christian tradition, and Christmas observances and prayers on such occasions as commencement exercises were considered wholly legitimate. Sectarianism, however, was shunned, as emphasizing details leading to needless animosity. In my *Ordeal of Faith* I have documented evidence that during this period, where ecclesiastical zealots did not intervene, much ecumenicity existed. Bitterness against Catholicism was partly due to the fact that a non-Catholic parent who objected to his son or daughter dating a Catholic was looked upon as illiberal in democratic America. Yet, when romance blossomed into marriage prospects, the Catholic Church insisted on prescribing the basic arrangements in unilateral fashion. Kinzer does not develop this matter, but evidence is presented. In 1894 John B. McMaster asserted that in the case of the APA, "Never was the name 'American' more misapplied." Kinzer concludes similarly: "In creating personal animosities and in stimulating antagonisms among neighbors, and among members of the same unions, the order did immeasurable damage to the social structure." Kinzer pays generous respect to Humphrey J. Desmond's pioneer work, *The A.P.A. Movement: A Sketch* (1912). Now, his own volume becomes the basic treatment.

Ohio State University

FRANCIS P. WEISENBURGER

AT THE PLEASURE OF THE MAYOR: PATRONAGE AND POWER IN NEW YORK CITY, 1898-1958. By *Theodore J. Lowi*. ([New York:] Free Press of Glencoe. 1964. Pp. xvi, 272. \$4.95.) The scope of this book is broader than its title indicates, for the author uses an examination of the top appointments made by successive mayors of New York City from 1898 to 1958 as the point of departure for a study of the city's governing and political process. As he indicates in his introduction, the question that he has posed is: "Who rules and why?" There are, of course, many answers to this question, but Mr. Lowi has emphasized the influence of ethnoreligious factors on the development of New York's government during the twentieth century. He demonstrates that mayors have increasingly turned to the "numerous ethno-religious subcultures" for their major appointments and that it is these subcultures "in the vast City that give its politics its flavor." At the same time there have been a marked increase in the number of "specialists," or those with "job-oriented skills," selected for important positions in the city's government and a corresponding decline in the number of "generalists" holding such posts. Both trends have been accelerated by what the author refers to as the "cycle of reform" which occurs when the voters reject the dominant Democratic party for a fusion administration. Although the city charter was designed to create a strong mayor, the developments described by Lowi have tended to produce the opposite effect. By emphasizing ethnoreligious factors at the expense of other considerations in his appointments the mayor has deprived himself of the opportunity of drawing on either a party or class base for support of his policies. By relying on specialists he has given hostages to the "guilds" or groups from which he has drawn the specialists. To rectify this situation, the author proposes a revival of an urban machine that would be capable of providing the mayor with the support and talent he needs to run the city and that with "enlightened leadership . . . could adapt itself to the real needs of city government." Lowi has written a thoughtful and closely

reasoned book; it is, however, a book that is designed for political scientists rather than historians. History serves the author as either background or as illustrations for his points, and most of his historical material has been drawn from secondary sources. On the other hand, he has much to say to urban historians, and he says it with skill and insight.

Queens College

HAROLD C. SYRETT

AMERICAN BUSINESS ABROAD: FORD ON SIX CONTINENTS. By *Mira Wilkins* and *Frank Ernest Hill*. With an introduction by *Allan Nevins*. (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 541. \$10.00.) This is a comprehensive review of the Ford Motor Company's foreign operations since 1903, when it first employed an agent to develop an export market for the Model A. The next year Ford organized its first foreign company, in Windsor, Ontario. These two ventures set the pattern for most of Ford's subsequent activities outside the United States. Unlike other foreign manufacturing enterprises that Ford established later, the Ford Motor Company of Canada was promoted and largely financed by Canadians; it did not grow out of a branch or an assembly plant; it was planned as a producer of finished automobiles from the start. At the time of incorporation the shareholders in the American company received 51 per cent of Ford-Canada's stock (largely in payment of drawings and patents), but Detroit rarely chose to exercise its control, thus permitting the Windsor operation to develop with a large degree of independence. Besides enjoying "the sole and exclusive right to manufacture and sell" Ford cars in its own country, Ford-Canada also received similar privileges throughout the British Empire, with the result that it ultimately grew into "a miniature Ford-US, spawning foreign subsidiaries of its own. . . ." After twenty-five years of expansion and growth, the American company decided to reorganize its foreign activities and in 1928 adopted a plan that would bring all of its operations in Britain, Europe, the Near East, and parts of North Africa under the control of a single English company, in which Ford-US would hold 60 per cent of the stock. The remaining 40 per cent was to be offered to the British public. The English company, in turn, was to hold 60 per cent of the stock of the companies under its control. As in the case of Ford-England, the remaining stock of each affiliate was to be sold to the people of the country in which it was located. The plan also called for the construction of a vast manufacturing plant at Dagenham, England, capable of producing Ford cars for the English company's numerous affiliates. Not all of these goals were realized. A world-wide depression, tariff problems, and differing national needs and tastes led France and Germany to develop full-scale manufacturing plants of their own, producing distinctive European cars. The authors analyze these and the numerous other changes that followed the introduction of the 1928 plan carefully and interestingly. Based on extensive research and written with verve, this study provides one of the best case histories available of an American business operating abroad.

New York University

VINCENT P. CAROSSO

JUSTICE ON TRIAL: THE CASE OF LOUIS D. BRANDEIS. By *A. L. Todd*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964. Pp. ix, 275. \$6.50.) Mr. Todd, a free-lance writer, has given us an illuminating account of one of the most bizarre episodes in American history. He tells a well-worn story. Aware of the contributions of others, the author "tried to add to their accounts rather than duplicate them." He has succeeded admirably. Todd has researched many relevant collections, enriching his pages with much new material. His bibliographical note is impressive. Especially interesting to

me is the attention paid to the politics of confirmation. The chapters prior to the nomination provide the historical setting necessary to a full understanding of the controversy, making it easier to see why it created such a stir in high political places. Important new information is presented on William Howard Taft's judicial yearning. Certain influential newspapers and conservative Democrats harbored the fantastic notion that President Wilson might be persuaded to appoint Taft to the Supreme Court, even to the chief-justiceship, thus satisfying a lifelong ambition. The President might, the *New York Times* suggested, "rise above party" and "give new strength and dignity to the court . . . by appointing ex-President Taft." Two weeks before Brandeis' nomination was announced, a *Washington Herald* editorial declared that the whole country would "commend the selection of Mr. Taft." Friends and admirers of the former President pressured the White House. Though devoutly wishing that this might come to pass, Taft was dubious. Yet he was "wicked enough to enjoy the irritation that Wilson probably feels at getting those letters." Todd's pages demonstrate that Wilson knew how the Brandeis appointment might affect his political fortunes. In the three-way battle for the White House in 1912, he had been elected a minority President. In 1916 he was destined to face the mighty Charles Evans Hughes, attractive to conservatives and liberals alike. Both the Court and the country needed Brandeis; in the forthcoming presidential election, his nomination might serve to enlist liberal forces under the Wilson banner. By a narrow margin, that is precisely what happened. Todd has succeeded almost too well. In his determination not to duplicate the effort of others, he has made it necessary for those wishing to know the full appointment story to read not only his book, but also a volume entitled *Brandeis: A Free Man's Life*, published in 1946.

Princeton University

ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON

SEEDTIME OF REFORM: AMERICAN SOCIAL SERVICE AND SOCIAL ACTION, 1918-1933. By *Clarke A. Chambers*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1963. Pp. xviii, 326. \$6.50.) This admirable book fills in what has been up to now a sketchy chapter in the history of American reform. Mr. Chambers' concern is with the social workers and the social reform associations of the 1920's. By a close examination of their activities, he is able to demonstrate both that the reform impulse did not completely languish in the twenties and that the social work tradition made an indispensable contribution to the New Deal. If neither of these propositions is precisely novel, the thoroughness of Chambers' research and the cogency of his analysis give them fresh meaning and place them beyond the realm of argument. The subject is diffuse, and the author must have faced perplexing problems of organization. He meets them by opening with a description of the mood of social reform at the armistice, then offering a series of chapters on basic reform themes of the prosperity decade—child labor, women's rights, slums and settlement houses, social security—and concluding with an account of the impact of the depression and the response of the New Deal. His writing is brisk and clear; he has a nice feeling for personality; and his evident sympathy with the men and women struggling to help their fellows does not interfere with—indeed, sustains and nourishes—his historian's objectivity of judgment. It is a shame to cavil at a book so intelligently conceived and so well grounded, but, if *Seedtime of Reform* has any weakness, it lies in the treatment of the area where social work intersects with politics. Though Chambers makes the relevant points here, he does so a little briefly and quickly. One would have welcomed an analysis of the way the social workers strove to influence men like Smith, Wagner, Costigan, and Roosevelt as full and exact as his analysis of the ideas and actions of the social workers themselves. It might have been useful, too, to have portrayed at more length the role of Paul Kellogg and the *Survey* in providing a clearinghouse and rallying ground for the social

reform movement in these years. These reservations do not detract in any serious way, however, from the merits of this valuable book.

Washington, D. C.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

BLACK MARKET MONEY: THE COLLAPSE OF U. S. MILITARY CURRENCY CONTROL IN WORLD WAR II. By *Walter Rundell, Jr.* ([Baton Rouge:] Louisiana State University Press. 1964. Pp. xiii, 125. \$4.00.) War is hell for the honest soldier. But for the con man, the crook, and the counterfeiter, war is a unique opportunity to strike it rich. During World War II, the weakness and erratic nature of the US Army's currency controls created bountiful opportunities for dishonest soldiers to engage in lucrative black-market operations. As Walter Rundell amply documents, the army's controls were haphazard. Acting with a minimum of foresight and coordination, our military leaders wandered from one program to another. Not until 1946—and then only when the Treasury Department exerted pressure—did the army begin to pay in a form of scrip that made it almost impossible to transfer illegal profits back to the United States. By that time two things should have been very clear to everyone concerned: where currency control was tight and centralized (as it had been in the Mediterranean), illegal activities were sharply restricted; where control was decentralized and loose, the black market flourished, and the government transferred to the United States far more money than it originally paid out in salaries and allowances. Rundell has written an excellent history of this politico-economic problem. His book is based on thorough research in manuscript materials. The prose is polished, and the author handles the complexities of currency control with commendable skill and clarity. Never stumbling into the bogland of administrative trivia, he charts a sure course toward the central problems of decision making and the general questions arising out of policy implementation. The author could perhaps have been bolder. The only significant weakness of the book arises from the author's unwillingness to reach out for the broader generalizations suggested by his subject. In evaluating the decisions made by our political and military leaders, Rundell displays sound judgment and a thorough grasp of his subject. But this only whets the reader's appetite for general conclusions about the American military and about the US experience with this form of wartime regulation. Despite this limitation, students of military government and of the American occupation will be indebted to Rundell for this well-written and thoughtful book. With brevity and acuity, he has recounted the unfortunate history of the army's blundering attempts at currency control in World War II.

Rice University

LOUIS GALAMBOS

GUARDING THE UNITED STATES AND ITS OUTPOSTS. By *Stetson Conn et al.* [U. S. Army in World War II: The Western Hemisphere.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1964. Pp. xvii, 593. \$8.25.) This second volume of the subseries of the army's official history, "U. S. Army in World War II," deals with "the plans made and the measures taken by the Army to protect the United States and the rest of the Western Hemisphere against military attack by the Axis Powers during World War II." It concerns itself somewhat more with "measures taken" than with "plans" and for the lay reader is the more readable of the two volumes. After a summary chapter on the framework of hemisphere defense, the authors review the preparations for continental defense and the nature of defense commands after America's entrance into the war. They next turn to Japanese evacuation from the west coast. For the general reader this chapter and a subsequent section dealing with the question of Japanese evacuation from Hawaii constitute some of the volume's most significant and interesting portions. In fact, these pages could well be issued separately to reach a wider reading public. They carefully detail the

evolving plans and decisions for removal from the west coast. General John L. DeWitt, commanding general, Western Defense Command, emerges not so much as a prime instigator of the removal of Japanese aliens and of American citizens of Japanese descent as one who wanted all enemy aliens, including German and Italian, removed from critical defense areas and who at the outset opposed evacuation of American citizens of Japanese parentage. The initiative for the type of removal that took place apparently came from Washington, especially from officials in the Provost Marshal General's office. Political pressures from west coast congressional leaders and others reflected anti-Japanese sentiment on the coast and reactions to ill-founded rumors of Japanese subversion and sabotage. Political pressure also explained DeWitt's failure to secure mass removal of German and Italian aliens. Attorney General Francis Biddle protested to President Roosevelt that mass German or Italian evacuation from the west coast would produce disaffection among persons of these nationalities throughout the country. In the Hawaiian Islands, in contrast, several factors worked against the mass evacuation initially contemplated. These included a climate of racial tolerance in Hawaii, growing army opposition to evacuation, and the key position held by Japanese in the civilian labor force. Shipping conditions, furthermore, made mass evacuation either to the mainland or to other islands in the Hawaiian group impractical. The chapters on garrisoning and protecting Alaska present the army's role in this aspect of continental defense and provide valuable additions to army air force and navy accounts as well as to other volumes in the army series. The same is true of the account of the defenses of Panama, the Caribbean, and the North Atlantic. The reader becomes aware of the problems of implementing the destroyers for bases deal, determining the nature and size of the various garrisons, creating command organizations and resolving command disputes, dealing with local governments and people, and actually waging war. This volume, like others in the army series, is well documented and carefully written.

University of California, Santa Barbara

A. RUSSELL BUCHANAN

ISOLATION OF RABAU. By *Henry I. Shaw, Jr., and Douglas T. Kane*. [History of U.S. Marine Corps Operations in World War II, Volume II.] ([Washington, D. C.:] Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. 1963. Pp. x, 632. \$5.50.) In the first eight months of 1942 the Japanese juggernaut rolled swiftly through the islands of the Pacific toward Australia. Heroic counteroffensive actions on Guadalcanal and in Papuan New Guinea, reinforced by the naval Battles of the Coral Sea and Midway, brought the Japanese to a halt. In the first part of 1943 the initiative passed to the Allies, and the imperial dragon had to sit on its haunches awaiting the next Allied move. This volume covers that move, aimed at the reduction of Rabaul, the great Japanese naval and air base at the head of New Britain that posed a constant threat to the hard-won positions in the Solomon Islands and New Guinea. Covering drives carried the forces in the Solomons under Admiral Halsey and those in New Guinea under General MacArthur toward that stronghold. Against determined opposition, the Allies, in a series of amphibious operations, succeeded in carving out of the jungle islands a progression of airfields from which their aircraft were able to render Rabaul impotent and make its capture unnecessary. The way then lay open for an attack against Japan west through the Central Pacific and northwest along the dinosaurian backbone of New Guinea. *Isolation of Rabaul* utilizes earlier Marine Corps monographs, published army, navy, and air force studies, Japanese material, and the archives of the Marine Corps and the army. The authors have also corresponded with most of the leading marine participants. Although the emphasis of the book is on Marine Corps activities, appropriate credit is given to the actions of other American and Allied land and air forces. The writers have not penned another Marine Corps

hymn, but have painted an accurate picture, "wart and all." Errors of judgment are noted as well as acts of heroism. This is not only an honest account but also a vigorous and authoritative history. Much of the war in the Pacific consisted of small-unit actions fought against mud, swamps, tropical vegetation, rain, faulty supply lines, and, of course, the Japanese. The authors are at their best in describing these actions while relating them to the "big picture." With the publication of this volume the army, the navy, the air force, and the marines have told their story of Rabaul. What is now needed is a synthesis, not only of these efforts, but of all the operations against Japan.

United States Air Force Academy M. HAMLIN CANNON

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1943. Volume IV, THE NEAR EAST AND AFRICA. [Department of State Publication 7665.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1964. Pp. viii, 1188. \$4.00.) This volume deals with wartime relations with the Greek government-in-exile, Turkey, and twelve countries in Africa and the Asiatic Middle East. Its documents relate to lend-lease proposals, Iranian and Iraqi entry into the war, Turkey's troubled neutrality, and American attempts to obtain concessions in three oil rich lands. The section devoted to Palestine has made headlines in the Anglo-Jewish press, for it reveals the vain attempt of the Allies to secure a wartime moratorium on the Holy Land issue. Jewish leaders insisted on an immediate settlement of the Palestine question for they wished to prepare that land as a haven of refuge for the survivors of Hitler's genocide. Roosevelt's Middle Eastern trouble shooters foretold an inevitable conflict over Palestine and advised him that no final settlement should be made until after the war. But where was the remnant of European Jewry to go? Strangely enough, many American statesmen believed that a goodly proportion of these displaced persons would prefer to remain in the European charnel house. In addition, the administration talked wantonly of placing homeless Jews in the "trans-Andean portions of Colombia" or perhaps Cyrenaica or Libya. It is obvious that FDR clung too long to the false hope that Arabs and Jews could reach some "friendly understanding." His preferred solution was a trusteeship to be administered by Christians, Jews, and Moslems. The State Department's naïveté was high-lighted when means were sought to implement this plan. A subordinate official reasoned that the governing body for this trusteeship should consist of three Christians and two Moslems, while the single Jewish membership would be rotated among a Zionist, a non-Zionist, and an anti-Zionist! Throughout 1943 London unsuccessfully prodded Washington for "some sedative joint statement" to quiet Arab-Jewish agitation. On the basis of the documents here printed the British position appears paradoxical. Jewish Agency officials were assured by Churchill that he was still pro-Zionist. On the other hand, Foreign Minister Eden in order to implement his goal of an Arab federation seemed anxious to quash immediate Zionist hopes. Yet the sternly realistic British sensed that the only eventual solution was a partition of the disputed country. Churchill assured Jewish spokesmen that the main question was merely one of timing. Events were to prove that no time would ever be propitious to settle the vexed issue short of a shooting war.

State University of New York at Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

BREAKOUT AND PURSUIT. By *Martin Blumenson*. [U.S. Army in World War II: The European Theater of Operations.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1961. Pp. xix, 748. \$10.25.) This volume, belatedly received by the present reviewer, deals with the United States Army's part in the Northwest Europe campaign of 1944 from the beginning of July until early in September. It has the now well-recognized virtues of the great series to which it belongs: thorough research and documentation, determination not to conceal American

failures and shortcomings, admirable maps and illustrations, a style that is lucid if sometimes a bit stilted. Dealing with a campaign prolific of controversies, this volume is distinguished by a degree of hostility to Field Marshal Montgomery that is in rather remarkable contrast with the version of events presented by another book in the same series, Forrest C. Pogue's *The Supreme Command*. What makes Mr. Blumenson's interpretation less than convincing on this matter is the fact that he did not make a really thorough study of the British records. To give one striking example, he throws out the suggestion that Montgomery's plan to draw most German strength to the British flank of the Normandy bridgehead (to facilitate an American breakout on the opposite side) may perhaps have been evolved "later as a rationalization." But he shows no evidence of having seen either Montgomery's memorandum written a month before D day, in which, among other ideas, the phrase occurs "to contain the maximum enemy forces facing the eastern flank of the bridgehead," or his signal to his chief of staff five days after D day in which the concept is very specifically stated. These documents are quoted in the Canadian and British histories. In the Normandy phase it seems hard to acquit Blumenson entirely of prejudice. However, when he deals with the Eisenhower-Montgomery controversy at a later stage, commonly called the question of broad front versus narrow front, where it seems to me that the case for Montgomery is less strong, he refrains from pursuing the field marshal further. Although the author's view of Montgomery is the aspect that will strike most readers most forcibly, it is only one part of a large and valuable book that cannot be adequately treated in a short notice. The chapter on the liberation of Paris is unusually interesting; Blumenson's comment is that this episode "was as much a Franco-American conflict as an Allied-German struggle." The German side of the campaign is fully dealt with on the basis of both contemporary German documents and the later reminiscences of German officers. It is a small point that the author seems to have confused the commander and the senior staff officer of the Twelfth SS Panzer Division; both men were named Meyer.

University of Toronto

C. P. STACEY

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: CURRENT DOCUMENTS, 1960. [Department of State Publication 7624, Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs.] (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office. 1964. Pp. lxiv, 970. \$3.50.) This series originated in 1959, presenting documents for 1956. Scholars may find conveniently assembled in this fourth volume material already published in the departmental *Bulletin*, the press, and other United States or United Nations outlets. Also, some material is here presented for the first time. The series thus makes available additional sources for the history of American foreign relations, filling a portion of the gap between day-to-day information and the fuller (and usually too long-delayed) *Foreign Relations of the United States*. The format follows that of previous volumes, except that space is conserved by listing numerous entries by title only, with reference to the location of full textual presentation. The fourteen organizational headings combine topical and geographical approaches, with elaborate cross references to the publications of our own government and to those of a wide variety of international agencies, after the thorough fashion characteristic of the Historical Office of the Department of State, which produced the compilation. The volume serves several useful purposes, of which two may be singled out. It furnishes a convenient calendar by which the progression of national and international affairs may be followed, and it emphasizes, by its space assignments, the year's relatively important developments: Cuba, for example, is allotted 61 pages, the Congo 108, the U-2 episode and the abortive summit conference with Russia 95, and disarmament and the peaceful uses of atomic energy 91. Interestingly, from the standpoint of 1965, Laos receives three pages and Vietnam a single entry. Mechanically the volume, like its predecessors, merits the highest praise. Time, and the further extension of the series, may provide

evidence on the question whether its contribution justifies competition for funds and energy with the *Foreign Relations* volumes.

Georgetown University

L. ETHAN ELLIS

THE NATIONAL UNION CATALOG OF MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS. 1962; INDEX, 1959-1962. In two volumes. Compiled by the Library of Congress under a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., from reports provided by American Repositories. [The Library of Congress Catalogs.] (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press. 1964. Pp. x, 532; v, 732. \$13.50 the set.) These volumes are the second installment in the publication of entries for manuscript collections in various American repositories. The first volume, issued in 1962, covered those entries submitted through 1961 and amounted to a total of 7,296 collections described. The first of these two volumes lists the entries received by the National Union Catalog in 1962—an additional 5,028 collections. The grand total of 12,324 collections are found in 398 institutions. The scholar who leafs through this volume for the first time may experience an initial shock at finding the manuscript holdings in no rational order; to expedite the work they are listed as received. Consequently the *Index* volume is indispensable for finding the papers of some particular person or corporate entry or on a given subject. It serves the 1962 volume as well. In one alphabet it provides names of writers and recipients, places, subjects, and historical periods named in the entries. Subjects presented the greatest problem, as the compilers had to work from entries uneven in detail and perhaps not always accurate. Cross references are offered. If not completely satisfactory, the *Index* is infinitely better than nothing and will prove not only useful but enlightening. Congratulations are richly deserved by Mrs. Arline Custer and her co-workers in the Descriptive Cataloging Division of the Library of Congress. The materialization of this welcome tool is a tribute to the cooperation of numerous institutions. The descriptions are necessarily brief, and only the principal correspondents can be mentioned. Yet untold wealth is at last made available to scholars, who are put on the trail of unsuspected riches, often in obscure places. The results make one wish that more than 398 repositories in 46 states had the staff to submit reports to the Library of Congress.

William L. Clements Library

HOWARD H. PECKHAM

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES. JOHN F. KENNEDY. CONTAINING THE PUBLIC MESSAGES, SPEECHES, AND STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT, JANUARY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 1962. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office for the National Archives. 1963. Pp. liv, 1019. \$9.00.) Latest in the valuable series of volumes of presidential public papers that the General Services Administration has been issuing in accordance with the 1957 recommendation of the National Historical Publications Commission, this book is uniform with, but slightly larger than, its predecessor (see *AHR*, LXVIII [Jan. 1963], 561). The main text consists of 557 items, arranged chronologically on 915 double-columned pages. As with the preceding volumes of Eisenhower papers and the volumes of Truman public papers published to date, editorial notes are brief, but an excellent index provides full and quick access to the materials. Appendixes are uniform with those in the first Kennedy volume. Most of the items in the book are of only routine interest and are preserved as *the* record for historians and others to peruse (although the tragedy of November 1963 may heighten the interest in even the most commonplace aspects of a compilation such as this). The Cuban missile crisis, beginning suddenly on October 22, 1962, with Kennedy's radio-television report, is the most dramatic episode of the year; the starkness of the published statements makes it vivid indeed. Kennedy the person does come through the mass of documents in the volume: in press conferences, in off year campaign talks, and in those occasional remarks at which he was such a

master. Among the best of the last type is Kennedy's report to a newsmen's dinner that he had returned from a visit with his Palm Beach "constituents," who had persuaded him to oppose his whole program: "I really feel that the only hope in '64 is to—on the Republican ticket—is to nominate Barry! But to be honest, I thought that before I went to Palm Beach."

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

THE UNITED STATES VERSUS PORFIRIO DÍAZ. By *Daniel Cosío Villegas*. Translated by *Nettie Lee Benson*. ([Lincoln:] University of Nebraska Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 259. \$5.00.) It is time that Latin American scholars rewrote the history of relations between their nations and the United States, correcting American errors and stating their side of every case. The dean of Mexican historians, now supervising a monumental history of the regime of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911), has excerpted from that colossus a small monograph relating the first serious diplomatic crisis which the dictator faced: an argument with the administration of Rutherford B. Hayes over security conditions along the Rio Grande border during which Hayes brusquely ordered General Edward O. C. Ord to cross the border at will in chasing marauders. Díaz sent General Jerónimo Treviño north to repel the expected invasion, but instead of war there followed a long diplomatic correspondence between Mexican Foreign Minister Ignacio Vallarta and United States Minister John W. Foster. Eventually the offensive order was withdrawn; American economic forces began to pour into Mexico; and Treviño even married Ord's daughter. The present edition of Cosío Villegas' incisive and scholarly monograph, scrupulously translated by one of our leading Mexicanists, Nettie Lee Benson, should introduce Americans to a new era of impressive Mexican historical research. Not surprisingly Cosío defends the underdog and directs withering fire at American bumptiousness and pretensions. The heart of the book is a painstaking analysis of the Vallarta-Foster correspondence, in which Cosío feels that Vallarta outpointed Foster, but concedes that by somehow allaying the anti-American suspicions of Díaz, the United States laid the foundations for later economic domination of Mexico. Without challenging the major thesis one may point out a few minor shortcomings. In the first place, Cosío seems to underplay the economic factors which lay behind the diplomatic struggle: for example, the influence of railroad promoters such as former President Ulysses S. Grant and Edward Lee Plumb, a personal acquaintance of Foster and, incidentally, often a sympathetic friend of Mexico. In his views of the American background Cosío relies too heavily on the pessimism of Claude G. Bowers and on textbooks which present a condemnatory view of American postwar business activities, now being somewhat modified. He has apparently not consulted any of the standard biographies of American policy makers or much of the plentiful monographic material on the United States in the 1870's. While he has used hitherto ignored and rich Mexican sources, especially documents and newspapers, his editors have handicapped American scholars by crowding together abbreviated footnote citations at the end of the book without explicitly linking each one to a passage in the text.

Hamline University

DAVID M. PLETCHER

NATIONALISM IN LATIN AMERICA, PAST AND PRESENT. By *Arthur P. Whitaker*. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1962. Pp. ix, 91. \$3.50.) Aptly presented as a "reconnaissance," this work centers on "the manifold functions" of nationalism since independence. First surveying modern European nationalism, Whitaker then provides periodizations of trends both in Europe and in Latin America. He gives a fine survey for Argentina; discusses the "synthesis of nationalisms" now leading toward a sense of Latin American community; and, finally, suggests possible meanings for the United States of this revived "continental nationalism," as well as of the current

"populism" best seen in Castro's Cuba. Thus he proceeds by perspectives, "global, local, and continental"; first with Kohn, Hayes, Deutsch, and others; then with Latin Americanists including Whitaker and his students in the seminar from which this book grew; finally, with recent thought of such Latin Americans as Víctor Alba. The purpose is to stimulate, to seek probabilities, and to suggest relationships with social, economic, and political changes. Where data even narrowly permit, Whitaker indicates the complexity of coexistent nationalisms. He takes two fixed positions: that nationalism is a spirit and a tool, not a program or a purpose; and that "all forms of nationalism, including the economic, are at bottom political." Only two questions arise. In painting the European background of the 1920's and 1930's might it be best to include the more beneficent governments, to help explain Latin Americans' confusion at all that they saw in Europe? And, need we believe with Alba that Communist action alone caused the negative, chauvinistic nationalism of the 1930's? At every step Whitaker reminds us of the real associations between Latin America and the world. He shows keen awareness of what has been proved or suggested, for one nation or many. These urbane and searching essays should long remain both manual and stimulus for research.

Occidental College

CLIFTON B. KROEBER

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS. By *Franklin D. Parker*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1964. Pp. x, 348. \$6.75.) Writing a survey of Central American history is exasperating and deceptive. There is no abundance of monographs based on research in the archives of Spain and Central America, and the author must draw his synthesis from works that with few exceptions lead into a thicket of errors. The new synthesis, then, includes not only the mistakes of its sources but also the weaknesses of compact history. Parker's book is no exception. The treatment of the colonial period is weak. Scholars have been adding to our understanding of this period, but for the most part Parker ignores their work. Economic life is thus reduced to a listing of crops, trade routes, and natural resources; religious life amounts to little more than the number of churches; colonial learning is out of focus; and there are errors in interpretation and fact. The section dealing with independence is also poorly executed. Parker believes that men dedicated to freedom and equality brought about the break with Spain. And this error leads him to interpret the history of the five republics in terms of a liberal-conservative struggle, one in which democracy will prevail. Men of liberal persuasion were indeed involved in events leading to independence and assert influence until this moment, as shown by the liberal constitutions. But political history based on constitutions and legislation is as inaccurate as a history of the colonial period taken from the Laws of the Indies. In brief, political ideology has been far less important than Parker believes. Every *jeje* worthy of the name manipulates the holy trinity of Central American politics: *Dios, Patria y Libertad*. But when informed citizens mutter "Adiós Patria y Libertad," they are telling us something. And no *jeje* was more cynical than Ydígoras Fuentes. When Parker deals with the contemporary scene, his book is superior to anything in print. Superiority comes from a clearly written, well-organized narrative based largely on primary sources. These and his personal experiences in the republics temper his optimism for the success of democracy. Country by country he examines politics, intellectual endeavor, economic life, and religion, providing a look at Protestantism that, I think, is not available elsewhere. Statistics for the consumption of wheat bread are useful only for indicating snobbery. Wheat bread is a status symbol. The statement about morality, even if true (and who can say?) will offend Guatemalans. His attitude toward Hondurans seems patronizing. And many will disagree with his interpretation of Juan José Arévalo.

University of Georgia

LOUIS E. BUMGARTNER

PERU. By R. J. Owens. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1963. Pp. xii, 195. \$4.00.) Following the pattern of previous RIIA studies on Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Uruguay, Mr. Owens discusses the land and people of Peru, and its history, but devotes greater space to contemporary political, economic, and social questions. In this small volume the author provides much information and by relating his material to a single basic theme has managed to avoid giving us a mere compendium. Assuming that Peru is an "underdeveloped country" that seeks to become "developed," the author analyzes its problems and progress to date. He believes that "the most important problem facing Peru today is that of integrating into the national life the Indians who live in the highlands." It is the landless, impoverished, tradition-bound Indian, whether subsisting in his isolated sierra village or on a large hacienda or migrating in hordes to Lima who, according to the author, creates Peru's grave social problems and limits Peru's capacity for development. A partial solution to the Indian problem lies in increasing wealth production through greater manufacturing activity and more intensive development of natural resources. Owens describes the advances that Peru has already made along those lines. But he nevertheless maintains that the solution of the Indian problem "depends equally on a change of attitude in the coastal Peruvian and the Sierra landowner toward his fellow countryman." Owens' book, although somewhat heavy with statistical and factual data, is well organized and clearly written, and constitutes a good introduction for the general reader interested in an accurate description and analysis of contemporary Peru placed in its proper historical perspective.

University of California, Los Angeles

ROBERT N. BURR

DOCUMENTOS HISTÓRICOS DE LA REVOLUCIÓN MEXICANA. REVOLUCIÓN Y RÉGIMEN MADERISTA. Volume I. Edited for the Comisión de Investigaciones Históricas de la Revolución Mexicana under the direction of *Isidro Fabela*. [Fuentes y documentos de la historia de México.] (México, D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1964. Pp. 466.) The appearance of this first volume on the Madero era (Volumes I-IV on the Carranza era have already been published and reviewed [*AHR*, LXVII (Jan. 1962), 523; LXVIII (Jan. 1963), 563; LXIX (Oct. 1963, July 1964), 251, 1176]) in Isidro Fabela's documentary series on the Mexican Revolution fills in yet another segment, that of 1910-1911. Fabela, in his laudatory introduction and in the selection of documents, high-lights—perhaps some historians will say, exaggerates—the personality and role of Madero as the "apostle" of the Revolution. Heading the imposing list of 302 documents is the Creelman interview of 1908. The selection proceeds chronologically as far as mid-1911 and includes some personal correspondence of Madero, numerous political pronouncements, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, and extensive political correspondence. Little of this material will be new to the student of Mexican history, but the series provides easy consultation of most of the well-known, and some of the less-known, documents, arranged in chronological context and introduced by one-sentence summaries of their contents.

Indiana University

JAMES R. SCOBIE

ARTICLES AND OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED*

General

ARTICLES

SHLOMO AVINERI. Marx and Jewish Emancipation. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, July-Sept. 1964.

NANCY NICHOLAS BARKER. Austria, France, and the Venetian Question, 1861-66. *Jour. Mod. Hist.*, June 1964.

DARREL E. CHRISTENSEN. Nelson and Hegel

* The lists of articles are compiled by the section editors whose names appear. The listed books are those received by the *Review* between July 1 and October 1, 1964.

on the Philosophy of History. *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, July–Sept. 1964.

F. E. FRENKEL. Sex-Crime and Its Socio-Historical Background. *Ibid.*

PETER GOSZTONY. Der Kampf um Budapest 1944/45 [6 pts.]. *Wehrwiss. Rundsch.*, Oct. 1963–Mar. 1964.

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* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Program Chairman for the Association meeting at the Hilton Hotel, San Francisco, California, December 28-30, 1965, is Brainerd Dyer, University of California, Los Angeles. Gerald T. White of San Francisco State College is Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has acquired some fifty thousand papers of Nathaniel P. Banks (1816-1894) from the estate of one of his granddaughters. The material, which has been on deposit and available to scholars for a number of years at the Essex Institute in Salem, Massachusetts, relates to every phase of Banks's varied career as long-time member of the US House of Representatives and Speaker of the House during the Thirty-fourth Congress, governor of Massachusetts (1858-1861), and major general in the Union Army during the Civil War. As shown in the index to the papers, the correspondence is particularly rich in letters from persons prominent during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods.

A series of fifty-eight letters written by Andrew Jackson between 1827 and 1845 to Amos Kendall, Postmaster General under Presidents Jackson and Van Buren, has been acquired for the Library with the assistance of Arthur A. Houghton of New York City. It is conceded that Jackson's victory in Kentucky in 1828 was due in large part to Kendall's assistance, and in one of the newly acquired letters (November 25, 1828) Jackson tells Kendall of his gratitude. Most of the letters are not of the presidential years, however; the greatest number were written after Jackson's return to the "Hermitage," and the latest (May 20, 1845) was written just eighteen days before Jackson's death. Fewer than half of these letters were printed, and then generally only in part, in John Spencer Bassett's *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (6 vols., 1926); the letters were printed in full, however, in the issues for February 4, 5, and 10, 1879, of the *Cincinnati Commercial*.

Benjamin W. Huebsch, prominent New York publisher, presented a first installment of his papers to the Library a few weeks before his death in August 1964. The papers number nearly five thousand pieces of correspondence dating from just after the turn of the century until 1964. They detail the remarkable career of Huebsch, who achieved fame as publisher of some of the major literary works of the twentieth century. When he discontinued publishing under his own imprint in 1925, he joined the newly formed Viking Press as editor in chief and vice-president. He was also active in liberal and humanitarian organizations, serving as member of the Ford Peace Plan mission during World War I, treasurer of the American Civil Liberties Union, and special United States representative to UNESCO. Among the most interesting and valuable segments

of the Huebsch correspondence is one of several hundred items dealing with British political theorist Harold L. Laski in which there are at least 150 letters from Laski to Huebsch.

A number of collections pertaining to science have been received or augmented. Supplementing the Arnold Gesell papers is the correspondence exchanged between Drs. Louise Bates Ames and Frances L. Ilg, officials of the Gesell Institute, and readers of their syndicated newspaper column, "Parents Ask." The first installment of the papers of George Gamow contains correspondence, manuscripts of scientific books and articles, and miscellaneous additional material. Two collections have been begun of notable contributors to science and technology, both of whom died in the 1930's, Arthur D. Little and Henry Smith Pritchett.

Among recent National Archives accessions are records created or maintained by the Office of News, Bureau of Public Affairs, and predecessor offices of the Department of State, including transcripts of press conferences, news digests and summaries, and correspondence, 1906-1960; records of the Bureau of Transportation, Post Office Department, mainly concerned with the operation of airmail service and the transition to the present contract system, 1907-1952; reports and descriptions of National Bureau of Standards research projects, 1960-1963; Bureau of the Census microfilm of abstract cards of the 1880 population census schedules covering families with children aged ten or under; records of the Program Planning and Review Committee, Department of Labor, which was established to facilitate effective development and control of departmental policy and programs, 1955-1962; records of the General Services Administration consisting of inventory listings of property owned or leased by the federal government in the United States and other countries for the year ending June 30, 1963; and the Civil Aeronautics Board case file relating to the investigation of the accident that killed Wiley Post and Will Rogers, 1935.

The National Archives has recently published *National Archives Accessions*, Number 58, which contains a description of the records it received from July 1, 1962, to June 30, 1963. In the same issue is an article by Kenneth F. Bartlett entitled "Early Correspondence Filing Systems of the Office of the Secretary of the Navy."

Among microfilm publications recently completed are the Indexes to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the States of Michigan (48 rolls), Minnesota (10 rolls), New Hampshire (13 rolls), New Jersey (26 rolls), New York (157 rolls), and Oregon (1 roll). Recently filmed records of the Department of State include Lists of United States Diplomatic Officers, 1789-1939 (3 rolls); and Records from the Decimal File, 1910-1929, Relating to Internal Affairs of Morocco (26 rolls), and to Political Relations between the United States and Morocco (1 roll), Morocco and Other States (1 roll), and the United States and Great Britain (15 rolls). Also recently completed are Records of the District of Columbia Commissioners, 1791-1802, and of the Offices concerned with Public Buildings, 1802-1867 (27 rolls); Letters Received by the Office of the Adjutant General, 1805-1821 (144 rolls); Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from the President and Executive Agencies,

1837-1886 (49 rolls); Records Relating to the United States Surveying Expedition to the North Pacific Ocean, 1852-1863 (27 rolls); and Letters Relating to Claims Received in the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1864-1887 (91 rolls).

The papers of Frederic A. Delano (1863-1953), uncle of President Roosevelt, have been given to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library by his daughter, Mrs. James L. Houghteling. The papers document his career in railroading, mining, and banking, as colonel in the Transportation Corps in World War I, and as a government official in his nephew's administrations, chiefly as chairman of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and as vice-chairman of the National Resources Committee. Other papers relate to his lifelong interest in regional planning, conservation, the history and politics of the Hudson Valley, and Delano family history. Also received was a small body of correspondence of Helen Ferris (Mrs. Albert B. Tibbets), an editor of the Junior Literary Guild, with Mrs. Roosevelt in connection with Mrs. Roosevelt's work as a reader of manuscripts for the guild from 1944 to 1960.

Recent accessions of the Harry S. Truman Library include papers of Gordon R. Clapp and the late James K. Knudson and microfilm copies of the papers of Stephen J. Spingarn.

Congress has appropriated \$350,000 that will allow the National Historical Publications Commission to make modest grants to state and local agencies and nonprofit organizations and institutions for the arrangement, description, and publication of documentary source materials significant to the history of the United States.

At the commission's meeting on September 11, 1964, resolutions were passed recommending that the first two allocations from the then expected congressional appropriation be to support the continuation of the project for compiling and publishing the "Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution and First Ten Amendments" and to begin work on the project for publishing the "Records of the First Federal Congress." The consideration of all other allocations was delayed until the next meeting. The commission also passed resolutions commending projects already organized and under way for publishing the papers of Jefferson Davis and Ulysses S. Grant, the former at Rice University, and the latter at Southern Illinois University. These resolutions permit the commission to give professional assistance to these projects, chiefly by making available to them copies of extensive documentary materials in the National Archives.

The Wayne State University Labor History Archives has acquired the papers of the late Edward Wieck, labor historian and former research associate for the Russell Sage Foundation, and the files of Sam Pollock relating to his work with the United Ohio Labor Committee's 1958 campaign against the proposed "Right to Work" amendment to the Ohio constitution.

The American Antiquarian Society recently received 1,346 works concerned with French-Canadian history, the gift of Dr. Gabriel Nadeau, director of Rutland Hospital.

A collection of materials on the history of social welfare in the United States

during the twentieth century is being assembled at the University of Minnesota through a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

An American Subcommittee for the History of Universities has been formed under the direction of Astrik L. Gabriel; it will be represented at the 1965 meeting of the International Congress of Historical Sciences in Vienna. Activity of the subcommittee is centered at the Mediaeval Institute, University of Notre Dame.

The *Commission internationale pour l'enseignement de l'histoire* held a conference in Berlin on "Le National-Socialisme allemand et la jeunesse." A summary of the final conclusions is available from Jacques de Launay, 68 Faisanderie, Brussels 15, Belgium.

The seventh *Convegno Storico Internazionale* was held at the *Accademia Tudertina*, October 11-14, 1964; its theme was "Valori umani del secolo XII."

The *Società degli Storici Italiani* has been established in Milan.

GRANTS, AWARDS, PRIZES

The Ford Foundation approved a grant of two million dollars to the National Archives Trust Fund Board to support five historical documents publication projects that the National Historical Publications Commission is assisting: the Adams Family Papers, the Franklin Papers, the Hamilton Papers, the Jefferson Papers, and the Madison Papers.

The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation has presented the Carnegie Institute of Technology an endowment to support research in the humanities.

Joint committees of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council have awarded the following grants for research for 1964-1965: *African Studies*—Fred J. Berg, Louis Brenner, William A. Brown, Steven M. Feierman, G. Wesley Johnson, Jr., Raymond K. Kent, Martin A. Klein, John A. Rowe, and Leo Spitzer. *Asia and Near East Studies*—Frank P. Baldwin, Jr., Gail L. Bernstein, Philip B. Calkins, Ralph C. Croizier, Craig Dietrich, John J. Donohue, S.J., George S. Elison, Paul Friedland, George C. Hatch, Jr., Philip C. Huang, Ronald B. Inden, Lawrence D. Kessler, Carl Leban, Bruce W. McGowan, Byron K. Marshall, Peter M. Mitchell, William F. Morton, William A. Oates, Jr., James B. Palais, Kenneth B. Pyle, Arthur L. Rosenbaum, Evelyn T. Sakakida, Richard J. Smethurst, Charles D. Smith, Jr., William M. Speidel, Glen W. Swanson, Richard P. Tucker, Frederic E. Wakeman, Jr., John R. Watt, Constance M. Wilson, Alexander B. Woodside, and David K. Wyatt. *Latin American Studies*—Warren K. Dean, Ralph S. della Cava, Philip N. Evanson, June E. Hahner, Ludwig Lauerhass, Joseph Le Roy Love, Mary Lowenthal, Peter G. Marzahl, Harold D. Sims, Peter H. Smith, and James W. Wilkie. *Soviet and East European Studies*—Kendall Bailes, Dusko Doder, Charles

Frazee, Joseph Fuhrmann, Peter Golden, Richard Hellie, Thomas W. Hoya, John Hutchinson, Edward Keenan, Jr., Alan Lichtenstein, William Lofgren, George Majeska, James C. Mills, Jr., Thomas S. Noonan, Bernard Oppel, Jaroslaw Pelenski, Thomas Pesek, Philip Pomper, Suzanne Porter, Alexander Rabinowitch, William Rosenberg, Don K. Rowney, Richard Rudolph, Joseph Schiebel, Arnold Schrier, Marshall Shatz, Gale Stokes, Ronald Suny, and Betty Jo Winchester. *Western European Studies*—Robert P. Grathwol, Charles S. Maier, Vojtech Mastny, and John P. McKay.

Historians receiving International Conference Travel Grants from the Social Science Research Council are: Woodrow Borah, John F. Cady, and Robert Van Niel.

The Rockefeller Foundation has awarded grants to Hajo Holborn to complete the final volume of a history of Germany and to the Indian Institute of Public Administration in New Delhi to enable Bal Ram Nanda to prepare a book on Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

The Ford Foundation has awarded postdoctoral fellowships to seven scholars from United States universities for research in Latin America.

George Hammond received the Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award of the California Historical Society for the compilation, annotation, and editing of *The Larkin Papers: Personal, Business, and Official Correspondence of Thomas Oliver Larkin, Merchant and United States Consul in California*.

The *Fundación Internacional Ricardo Levene* has awarded the Ricardo Levene Prize to Agata Gligo Viel for her book *La Tasa de Gamboa* and to Fernando Silva Vargas for his *Tierras y pueblos de indios en el reino de Chile*.

The Society of American Archivists has elected the Reverend August R. Suelflow a fellow.

The William H. and Frances S. Ryan Award for Meritorious Teaching at the Carnegie Institute of Technology was presented to Edwin Fenton.

Foundation News (V [Sept. 1964], 9-10) lists numerous grants for various institutions and projects of interest to historians.

OTHER HISTORICAL NEWS

An Agricultural History Center has been established at the University of California, Davis. Among the responsibilities undertaken by the center is the editing and publishing of *Agricultural History*.

An Irish-American Cultural Institute has been established at the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota. Its aim "is to bring about a more accurate public

understanding of the Irish contribution to world culture and to stimulate artistic creativity in relation to Irish themes."

The Merrimack Valley Textile Museum, housing exhibits and published and unpublished materials on the role of wool manufacturing in American history, has opened in North Andover, Massachusetts.

RECENT DEATHS

Walter B. Asch, assistant professor at the University of Illinois, Chicago, died January 30, 1964.

Paul Knaplund, professor emeritus at the University of Wisconsin, died April 8, at the age of seventy-nine. He had been associated with that university for over fifty years. Emigrating from his native Norway in 1906, he received his B.A. at Red Wing Seminary, and his M.A. and Ph.D. at Wisconsin, where he rose through the teaching ranks to a professorship in 1927. For more than twelve years he served as chairman of the history department. A forceful and conscientious administrator, he did not confine his activities to the department, but played a notable role in general university affairs, being a stalwart exponent of high academic standards and of faculty participation in the making of policy.

Following his retirement from Wisconsin in 1955, he continued to be active as teacher and scholar. In 1955-1956 he was John Hay Whitney Professor at Wells College, and the following year Fulbright lecturer at the University College of the West Indies. He also served as research associate of Duke University. In 1951 he received an honorary Litt.D. from St. Olaf College, and the Norwegian government bestowed on him a knighthood of the Order of St. Olav.

Professor Knaplund's research interests were centered primarily on the nineteenth-century history of the British Empire and Commonwealth, and on British foreign policy in the late Victorian period. His scholarly output was extensive, numbering a dozen studies of book length and some fifty articles or short papers. The first American to be permitted to use the Gladstone Papers, he published his *Gladstone and Britain's Imperial Policy* (1927), which was followed by *Gladstone's Foreign Policy* (1935). In 1953 *James Stephen and the British Colonial System, 1813-1847*, appeared. More general treatment is to be found in his *British Empire, 1815-1939* (1941) and his *British Commonwealth and Empire, 1901-1955* (1956). Among the original materials that he edited are letters and speeches by Gladstone, Gordon, Grey, and Salisbury. His Scandinavian attachments were reflected in his *British Views of Norwegian-Swedish Problems, 1880-1895* (1952), as well as in numerous articles. His graduate seminar was outstanding as a training ground in British Empire history, no less than thirty-five students taking their doctoral degrees under his supervision.

An exacting taskmaster, trenchantly critical of the slipshod or the fraudulent, Knaplund had a deep vein of kindness and generosity, particularly toward those who, like himself, were forced to struggle for their education. Naturally endowed with intelligence and vigor, and trained by a rigorous youth in self-reliance, he

brought these qualities from the Old World to the New. There, as we may read in his autobiographical *Moorings Old and New* (1963), he used them as keys to fulfillment.

Thomas A. Brady of the University of Missouri, a member of the Association since 1928, died June 10.

Beatrice Reynolds, formerly professor at Connecticut College, died June 21. Born in New York City on July 7, 1891, she received her B.A. degree from Barnard College in 1913, her M.A. from the University of Michigan in 1917, and her Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1931. She taught for many years at Connecticut College, as instructor (1929-1931), assistant professor (1931-1937), associate professor (1937-1945), and professor (1945-1947). After her retirement from that institution, she was a visiting lecturer at Mt. Holyoke College in 1947-1948. She was an active member of the American Historical Association, 1926-1952, and a member of the Renaissance Society of America since 1954, on whose executive board she served for several years. She published two books: *Proponents of Limited Monarchy in Sixteenth Century France, Francis Hotman and Jean Bodin* (1931) and a translation of Jean Bodin's *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (1945). A recognized scholar in the field of Renaissance history, she was especially interested in the theory of historiography during the sixteenth century.

F. Curtis Swanson, long a member of the Association, died July 2, at the age of seventy-two. Born in Galesburg, Illinois, September 7, 1892, he received the B.A. degree (1914) and M.A. (1915) from the University of Illinois. After serving in the armed services in France in 1918, he attended the Sorbonne and was a spectator at many of the sessions of the Versailles Peace Conference. After additional graduate work at Yale University, he joined the staff of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, where he continued to teach until his retirement in 1958.

E. Harris Harbison, Lea Professor of History at Princeton University, died July 13. Born in 1907, he graduated from Princeton in 1928, took a Ph.D. at Harvard, and returned to Princeton as an instructor in 1933. During his thirty years on the Princeton faculty he greatly influenced the development of the curriculum, especially in the difficult area of transition from school to college. He was an outstanding teacher; his searching questions and his penetrating criticisms made a profound impression on students at all levels.

His scholarly interests lay in the Renaissance-Reformation period. His *Rival Ambassadors at the Court of Queen Mary* received the Adams Prize in 1940. His *Age of Reformation* is a clear and lucid summary of the period. But his most important ideas were expressed in two books: *The Christian Scholar in the Age of the Reformation* and the essays on *Christianity and History*. Here he discussed, with wit and wisdom, the uneasy relationship between scholarship and faith and expressed his profound conviction that there is no irreconcilable contradiction between the two.

His achievements were honored, and his advice was sought by many institu-

tions and groups. He was a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an LL.D. of Washington and Jefferson College, a member of innumerable scholarly committees, and a trustee of the Princeton Theological Seminary, the Lawrenceville School, and the Danforth Foundation.

George Haines IV, Charles J. MacCurdy Professor of American History and cochairman of the department at Connecticut College, died July 24, at the age of sixty-one. In addition to numerous articles, he was the author of *German Influence upon English Education and Science, 1800-1866* (1957).

George N. Northrop of West Roxbury, Massachusetts, a member of the Association since 1911, died July 31.

Irving W. Raymond, a life member of the Association, died in August.

When Carlton Hayes died, on September 3, there passed from the American Historical Association a scholar who had served it for many years in many capacities and had been for the greater part of this twentieth century a leading figure in the American historical world. Death came at the age of eighty-two in a hospital near his home ("Jericho Farm") at Afton, New York. In birth, ancestry on both sides, and early associations he was a thorough New Yorker, but an up-State New Yorker, as he sometimes liked to emphasize in conversation, even though residence on Manhattan Island for most of the year became routine in his life after he committed himself to Columbia, first as student, undergraduate and graduate, and then as teacher and faculty member. He never ceased to love the up-State, though it was as *le pays* rather than as *la patrie* that the severe critic-to-be of nationalism cherished it. In his most recent book, *Nationalism: A Religion* (1960), there occurs a short, and charming, autobiographical passage:

In French, distinction is usefully made between *patrie* (one's whole nation or "fatherland") and *pays* (one's immediate homeland). Everybody, besides having a *patrie*, has a *pays*. My own *pays* is New York, particularly the south-central part of Upstate New York. Here I was born and spent my youth. Here five generations of both paternal and maternal ancestors lived and are buried. Here is my true home, along the gently flowing Susquehanna and amid the smiling wooded hills. Hither I resort whenever I can.

Professor Hayes's rise to fame was exceptionally rapid. Of the factors that contributed to it, the first, chronologically, was his outstanding success as a teacher in history courses, undergraduate and graduate, at Columbia. His lectures were not only carefully prepared and clearly organized, but were spiced with a dramatic mode of presentation that appealed strongly to most of his students. The more serious-minded among them were greatly impressed by his seminars, from which there emerged in due course a great many doctoral dissertations, a large proportion of them dealing with subjects related to what became, in the days of World War I, and remained, until the end of his life, the dominant theme in his historical interest and teaching and writing, the great theme of nationalism. This he developed at length and in detail, with boundless energy and unflagging zeal, in articles and books, beginning with an article written for

the *Political Science Quarterly* in 1914 and closing with *Nationalism: A Religion*, which he himself described as "a brief summing up of what one person, through a lifetime of study, has conceived and learned about nationalism, with special regard to its story in Europe and with tentative reflections on its present course on other continents." It would seem natural that one in whose life religion played so dominant a part as it did in his should associate it so closely as he did in this valedictory publication with what had become, for him, the chief theme of history.

Besides the more specialized books that Professor Hayes devoted, mainly or largely, to nationalism (his *Essays on Nationalism, France, A Nation of Patriots, The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism*, and *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900*, are examples), he wrote extraordinarily successful textbooks on modern European history in general. These spread far and wide in our colleges and high schools, among teachers and students, his reputation as a historian.

Theodore Henry Jack, president emeritus of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, died September 20, at the age of eighty-two.

Ralph E. Turner, professor emeritus at Yale University, died in October, at the age of seventy-one.

Laura E. Sutherland of Eau Claire, Wisconsin, a life member of the Association, died recently.

COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a review of my work *Muscovy and the Ukraine . . . 1654-1667* (*AHR*, LXIX [Apr. 1964], 737), James Billington finds the study lacking in interpretation and neglectful of large areas of relevant published materials. May I comment upon his criticism?

The reader was forewarned in the preface of the volume that its main purpose was to broaden the scope of earlier presentations and that no arrestingly new interpretation of the Ukrainian issue should be expected. It was added that after re-examining the principal works of historians before and after the Revolution of 1917 and many sources cited by them that a synthesis of their views rather than any one view best explained what had happened in the Ukraine after 1657. To expect more from this volume, therefore, was to ask for a different kind of book.

The reviewer finds the summaries of the documentary materials "inconclusive" and the body of the work "devoid of interpretation or even of generalization." Official documents of seventeenth-century Russia, particularly diplomatic materials, do not lend themselves readily to broad interpretation and must frequently remain less conclusive than one would choose. When the encumbrances of stylistic verbiage, royal titles, and repetitive detail are removed, the core of many documents is disappointingly terse and often deceptively naïve. Great caution must be exercised to avoid reading into such documents more meaning than is there.

In each chapter of the work, summary statements were given of the meaning of the political events described. These were by their very nature general and

interpretive. The final chapter of the work, entitled "Retrospection," was almost wholly general and interpretive. The amount of interpretation given will not, of course, please the reader who is more concerned with a strikingly new judgment of the Ukrainian issue than with a review and analysis of what happened, or who prefers history depicted in vivid color with broad brushstrokes rather than in the muted tones and shorter, uneven strokes indicated by the sources. But, again, the former was not the methodology of the study.

Suggestions for expanding the bibliography of a work that involves a large cross section of East European history over a decade can be useful and welcome. They can also be inexhaustible. The works suggested by the reviewer are familiar to scholars of seventeenth-century Eastern Europe. They and others could be called relevant and essential to the study if its purpose had been more expansive. With the long-standing controversy that has surrounded the diplomatic and military relations of Moscow and the Ukraine in this period, however, the attempt to clarify this portion of their relationship was regarded as a sufficiently complex and useful undertaking for a single volume based as it was upon a selective rather than an exhaustive bibliography.

The reviewer takes exception to the use of certain phrases in the text, to a definition of Zemskii Sobor, and to the absence of an index. The phrases "national sentiment" and "independence movement" are called unhistorical concepts. But where is there general agreement that such terms must be struck from the historian's vocabulary or that they should not apply to seventeenth-century Ukraine? If the movement led by Khmel'nitskii was not national in sentiment and headed for independence, then these phrases have little meaning in any context. The definition of Zemskii Sobor given in the glossary is used in a broad sense to indicate its composition in the early as well as mid-seventeenth century, since Chapter 1 alludes to a period when the Zemskii Sobor was quite active. The absence of an index was determined by the publisher's policy for paperbacks in the history series.

University of California, Davis

C. BICKFORD O'BRIEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

The main criticisms in the review arose not from any thought that the author should provide "strikingly new judgment," exhaustive bibliographies, or "vivid color," but rather from the expectation that he would follow through on his stated "main purpose" of broadening previous presentations by relating events "more directly to the east European politics of that era." If his real concern was rather to construct an account that goes only as far as sources permit (and not just "to assemble scattered sources"—the other part of the "main purpose" outlined in his preface), then the work must be criticized afresh for lack of detailed source analysis (necessarily involving titles of address, channels of communication and terminology, as well as the informational "core" of documents). As one of the few scholars familiar with both primary and secondary materials and generally free from bias, the author would appear well equipped to move beyond the cautious if useful narrative he has provided and to address himself more thoroughly in subsequent work to either or both of the important tasks that he has set himself in the present study: the relating of these events more fully to the broader European context, or the careful determination of precisely what can be known and inferred from primary materials about the narrower question of Muscovite-Ukrainian relationships.

Princeton University

JAMES H. BILLINGTON

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In a closely reasoned study a historian ought to try to anticipate and meet possible arguments counter to his thesis. Failing this, he should make amends as soon as possible. In this matter, what duty commands prudence also counsels, since in following such a course he may forestall a critic less warmly sympathetic than himself from making, and making much of, the point he failed to anticipate.

In my recent article, "The Loom of Language and the Fabric of Imperatives: The Case of *Il Principe* and *Utopia*," (*AHR*, LXIX [July 1964], 945-68) I overlooked what might appear to be a considerable hole in my argument. I insisted strongly on the passivity of the term *stato* in Machiavelli's book. Syntactically, I observed, it was "not up to much." I failed, however, to remark that there is at least one place in the book where *stato* appears to be indeed up to a good bit; and that what it is up to and where it is up to it both seem significant. The place is the very first sentence of Chapter 1 of *Il Principe*, and there *stati* are having rule (*imperio*) over men. The question then arises whether this is not the topic or thematic sentence of the whole book, presenting an image of *lo stato* as the center of power. This will not do, however. No matter what the significance of that first sentence may be, in no way does it alter the fact that in the rest of *Il Principe* *lo stato* is overwhelmingly being done to rather than doing, and that what is being done to it is exploitative.

Nevertheless the sentence calls for explanation. Two lines of argument are worth mentioning. One, suggested by Hans Baron's very plausible reconstruction of the composition of *Il Principe*, in "The *Principe* and the Puzzle of the Date of the *Discorsi*" (*Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XVIII [Sept. 1956], 405-28), is that Chapter 1 of the book was written a good while after the rest of it. Therefore that chapter may be bad evidence of what Machiavelli had in mind in 1513, when he was steadily at work on the book. While I find Baron's reconstruction acceptable, I prefer another approach to the puzzle, an approach that raises the question of the sense in which *stati* "have and have had (*hanno e hanno avuto*) rule over men." In effect, one can "have" actively or passively. To say of a man that he has skill connotes action on his part, since without action there would be no way of knowing that he had the skill. To have a cold, however, is to have passively. One does not wield a cold; one is its victim or receptacle. In the sentence under examination, then, it is possible that *stati* have rule the way a man has a cold, or better perhaps, the way a reservoir has water. They may be repositories of rule, not users of it. In that case those who use the *imperio* that *stati* have are not *stati* themselves but the ones who get their hands on the levers of *lo stato* by which the floodgates are operated—that is, in *Il Principe*, the princes. I think that the passive rather than the active connotation of "have" is the appropriate one to bear in mind in considering the role of *stati* in the first sentence of *Il Principe*, for then that sentence falls into harmony with the tone of the rest of the book, while otherwise it does not.

One further point I should like to make that has occurred to me since writing "The Loom of Language . . ." is that in the history of Western thought the mental transit necessary to make *stato* into the subject rather than the object of action probably encountered two considerable obstacles of a sort that might be called semanto-psychic. In the first place, in all Western European languages *stato* and its cognates were saddled with a long history of meaning precisely the opposite of "action": status, condition, position, situation. That is, *stato* was something that might *be* changed; it was not something that made changes; its whole aureole of connotation was, as it were, suffused with inertia. Moreover by a

linguistic accident, in Italian (and Spanish), but not in French, German, or English, it was the homonym of the past participle of the verb "to be," and this may have reinforced its already strong bias toward passivity. I do not know when in its history *stato* started on its transit from passivity to activity. It seems reasonably certain, at least, that Machiavelli had little or nothing to do with the process.

Yale University

J. H. HEXTER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I would like to clarify several points raised in John Spielman's remarks about my book *Metternich, Reorganization and Nationality, 1813-1818* (*AHR*, LXIX [July 1964], 1057).

Spielman claims that "This investigation, however, seldom succeeds in balancing the most general discussion of policy with a picture of the events to which this policy reacted The conclusions offered here would be more convincing if presented against a more detailed background." I find this criticism puzzling. I thought I had stated my intentions in this regard quite clearly at the beginning of the book on page 9: "Administrative details have been included here only when necessary to illustrate matters of nationality or territorial integrity. The dispatches of the lower ranks of the Austrian administration . . . must concern us here less than the interpretation given them at the higher levels, and public activity and opinions or direct policy reports thereon can only be secondary to political evaluations of such activity and opinions Nationalistic strivings . . . are vast topics in themselves and can only be referred to here briefly; the real concern of this work is, once more, the problem of nationality as seen by the Austrian authorities." Moreover, those details I had chosen to exclude—especially in regard to reports on public opinion within various provinces—would have burdened excessively a book already loaded with details and, furthermore, are themselves the subjects of competent investigations (such as R. J. Rath's of Lombardy-Venetia).

Even more puzzling to me is this: how can any careful reviewer describe my book as a "study of Austrian administration in northern Italy"? Although for good reasons Lombardo-Venetian material predominates (cf. on this point Bertier de Sauvigny's just published review of my book in *La Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*), it by no means makes the whole book. Metternich's (and Dietrichstein's) proposals of 1817 concern the entire Empire; his very interesting plans for an Illyrian "Southern Slavic Realm" within the monarchy (to which the reviewer does not refer at all) certainly are not northern Italian administrative matters.

The reviewer refers to some of the translations as "awkwardly literal." That they are, but I am sorry he did not appreciate my attempt to render a bit of original flavor. I purposely retained some of the stilted phrasing of the then current *Kanzleideutsch* which otherwise elegant men often were prone to write.

University of Tennessee

ARTHUR G. HAAS

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his review of *Foreign Relations of the United States . . . 1941*, Volume VI (*AHR*, LXIX [July 1964], 1171), Professor Guerrant apparently suspects that either the United States government ignored the possibility of a Japanese attack on the Chilean coast, which was brought to its attention by Ambassador Bowers, or that some of the papers relating to that matter were deliberately withheld from publication. It should be noted that these volumes are compiled and published for each calendar year, and this matter of a possible Japanese attack came up

in December 1941 and was continued into January 1942. The papers that Professor Guerrant missed in the volume for 1941 are published in Volume VI for 1942, on pages 1-7. There has been no suppression of important papers.

University of Illinois

CLARENCE A. BERDAHL

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

A correction should be made to a statement in the recent letter by Richard P. Stevens (*AHR*, LXX [Oct. 1964], 325) protesting against an unfavorable review of his book, *American Zionism and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1942-1947*. The Yale University Press did not, belatedly or otherwise, request the publishing rights to the book. We read the dissertation in 1960 and gave Stevens the benefit of detailed suggestions for revision, based partly on the criticisms of an outside reader whose reaction was very similar to that of your reviewer. Stevens wrote back that he was "eager" to revise the manuscript. A year later, however, he informed us that he was subsidizing publication of the manuscript by another publisher because he had not had time to make the necessary revisions. We expressed regret that he had taken this step.

Mr. Stevens is therefore undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the review might have been different if the book had been published by this press. The book itself would have been different.

Yale University Press

MARIAN NEAL ASH

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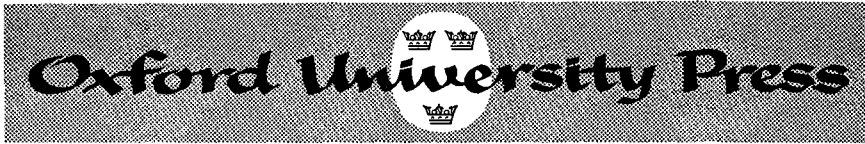
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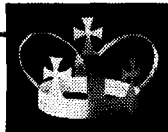
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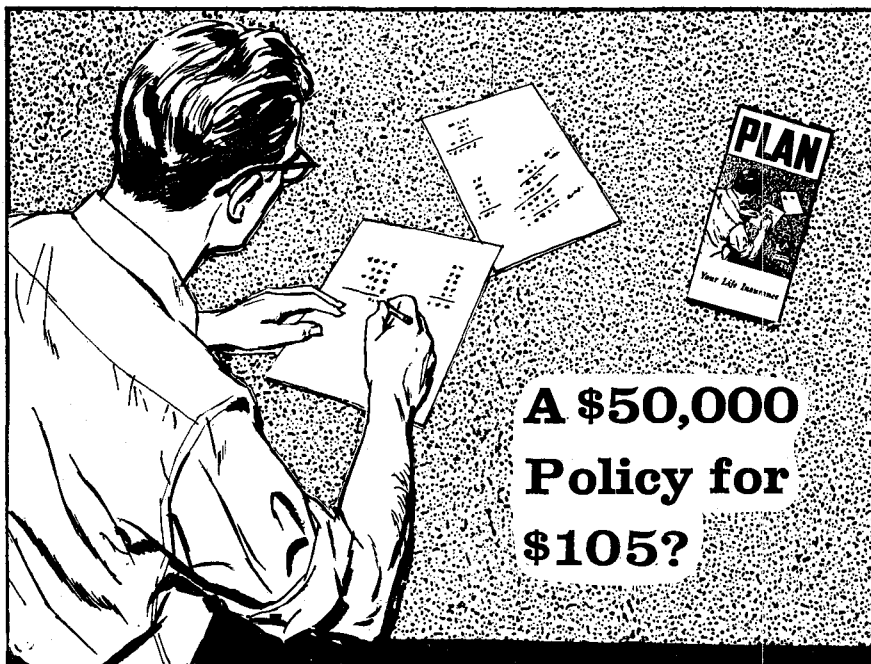
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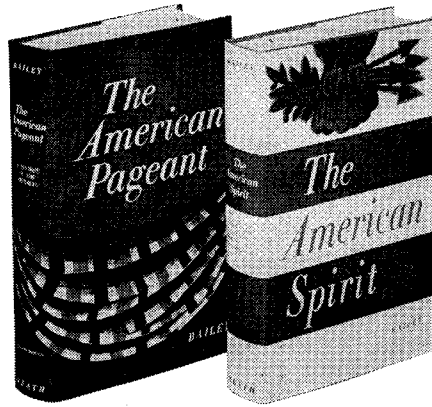
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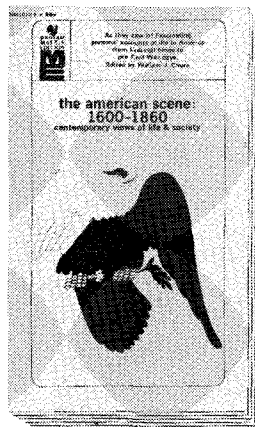
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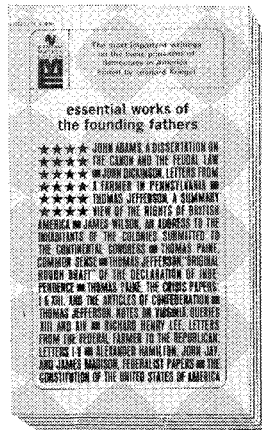


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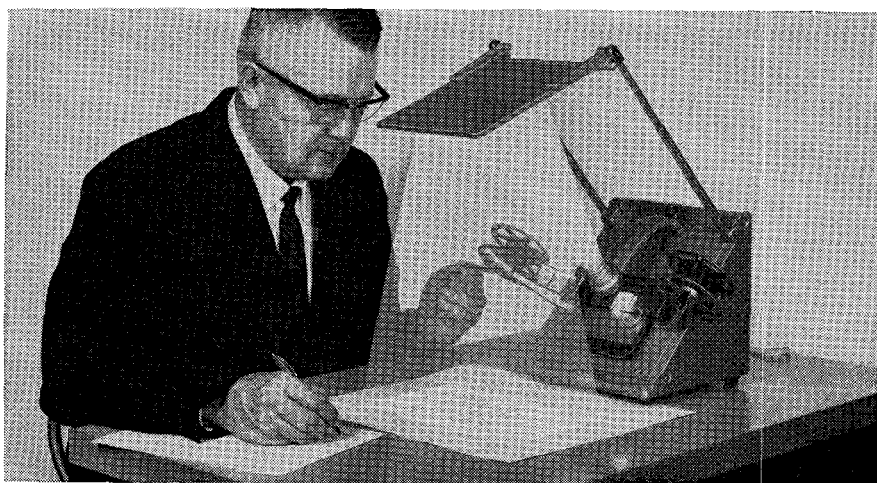
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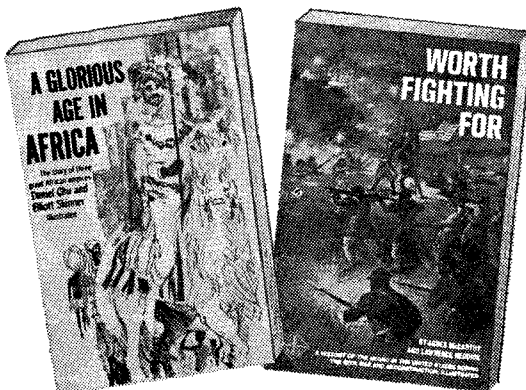
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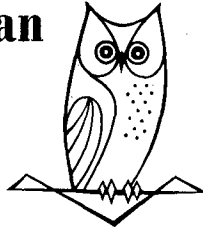


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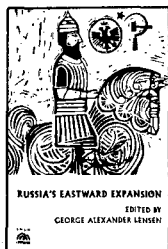
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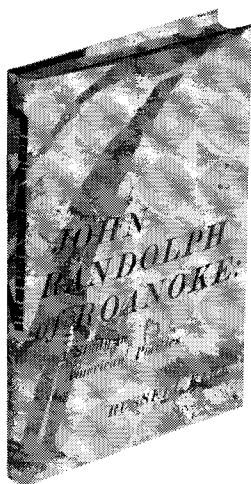
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